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RELIGIOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

RELATION OF THE PENITENT DEATH OF BISHOP ATHERTON.

(Concluded from p. 599.)

And now we are drawing nigh the saddest part of the story for his body, but yet the most comfortable for his soul. His sowing time in tears ye have heard; now follows his reaping in joy, of which some sheaves he carried with him hence, which is the most memorable thing in the whole relation.

After he had with great industry and watchfulness obtained some testimony unto himself of his repentance, and so hope of mercy, all his earnest desire was, that God would but give him some token for good by the comforts of his spirit. He had read much of that joy unspeakable and glorious, of the light of God's countenance, which David valued above all the world; heard much of the consolations and refreshments of the soul by the inward witness of the spirit: but now, how he thirsted (the day before his execution,) to have some taste of them, which he conceived would fully arm him against the fear of death! He said, he could remember in his youth, before his soul was stained with sin, when he lived for a time in a certain religious family, he had once some short enlightning that was of more worth than all the joy he had since. He acknowledged he was not worthy of it, and that if God did deny it him, yet the course he had begun he would hold; that he would never give over begging till he had some degree [to use his own words] were it but as imperfect a sight as the blind man's in the Gospel, who saw men walking like trees; and he was encouraged by a promise that God would not deny his holy spirit to those that ask him. And he said, that if he might expect the fulness of joy not many hours after, why might he not hope to get some first fruits or earnest for the assurance of it here; and he conceived of all men living he had most need, both considering what he had been and what he was to suffer: with this his thoughts were filled, and for this he desired me to pray with him often, and to help him with the prayers of others; and after eleven of the clock that night, I was witness of a most affectionate prayer of his own, which a hearer would have thought could not but arise from some apprehension already.

The next morning [which was the day of his execution] his first salutation to me was, God hath heard me; about four or five of the clock this morning, for the space of an hour and a half, I have had that sweetness in my soul, those refreshments in my heart, that I am not able to express. I had such a weaning from this world, might I have enjoyed all the contents of it, such a trust and relying upon God in committing my wife and children to his care, such confidence of God's love and assurance of pardon, such a longing to be dissolved and to be with Christ, such joy and inward consolation, as if he had been in the suburbs of heaven already, that (saith he) "I felt where my heart lay, I arose out of my bed and gave God thanks and praise upon my knees in the place where I had begged it;" and so fell into abundance of tears,

adding, "whereas before I wept for sorrow, now I weep for joy;" [of all which divers others were witnesses besides myself,] and so desired me, (who had been a petitioner with him) to kneel down with others present, and solemnly give God thanks with him for it, and pray for a continuance of it to his last; which tears of his, coming from so cheerful a countenance (when we expected the most sadness) moved us more than all before. And his man's testimony is observable, who coming that morning by break of the day to the chamber door, and before he knocked, looking through the key-hole, saw him by his bed side upon his knees for a quarter of an hour, and as soon as he came in, with a smiling countenance brake out to him into the like fore-named expressions, what a sweet night he had enjoyed, &c. and adding, "if I had been in a slumber it might have been a deceit, but I was full waking as now:" he seemed to be in such a rapture that his servant, as he told me, was astonished at it, expecting then to have found him most disconsolate.

After this we fell into many heavenly discourses concerning the state of the soul separated from the body; the translation of it out of this world; the happiness of heaven, by what we shall be rid of, by what we shall be perfected in; the company we shall be admitted into, not only to the spirits of just men, but to the society of glorious angels; concerning the beatificial vision in the fruition of God's presence, the sight of the blessed body of our Saviour, &c. in the thought of which he was much ravished, and fell into a long continued weeping from this ground, that he should have offended one that had prepared such inestimable things for him which he now thirsted to enjoy.

Then he desired the prisoners of the castle might be called together to take his last leave of them, to whom (as he had done formerly) he would once more read some part of the morning service, which I was the more willing to, were it but to profess the faith and religion he died in before many witnesses, against the expected calumny of the adversaries, if any extraordinary good should appear in him at his last. The psalms he chose were such as are usually read at burials, the lesson the fifteenth of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; some prayers he selected out of the visitation of the sick, the two last prayers at the burial, with other passages in it and elsewhere; which, with some alterations and additions of his own, he turned very apt for himself, and so with the like advice he had given to others, took leave of them. And now, saith he, as God hath refreshed my soul I will a little refresh my body, the better to enable me to speak at the place of execution, which was to be about three hours after, and so called for a little salt butter and brown bread and the smallest beer, a very little of which he eat, as his last, cheerfully hoping at night to be invited to the Supper of the Lamb in another world, when he should need none of these things.

When the time drew nigh, and he heard the noise of the people gathering, he told me, his heart began to quiver, and his natural affection with tears to yearn upon his children, which he was pleased still to find within him, considering that grace, though it be supernatural, yet doth not dry up the stream of nature. He complained that his former comfort did abate in the strength of it, but he trusted that God, in whose custody was the key of the spirit, whose act it is only to open and shut, had reserved it for him for that place and time where he should have most need. Yet not long after he recovered a great degree of cheerfulness again, repeating the last verse in the forty-second psalm, (which he had used to read often) and saying, now the sheriff should be a welcome messenger, and so continued. Some few things he had about him he then disposed of as tokens of remembrance to his friends; his gloves, staff, girdle, books, about seven or eight of some pious devotions, he gave and sent to divers with his name inscribed; and his last act after he was pinioned

was the giving me his seal ring off his finger, with such affectionate expressions, as it draws tears from me in the now remembering it. More I might add, but thus much may suffice to declare his repentance, and the fruit of it in the castle before his execution.

Now the sheriff of the county (a Papist) was come to receive him, the two sheriffs of the city with a great company of Halberts to assist him. At Christ-church (according to his desire) tolled his passing-bell: the whole town and castle so thronged as was never the like seen, that if there had not been a coach allowed him, it would have been impossible to have gone through. And here I must not forget the hard usage of the said sheriff of the county in some cross passages, which after all this his preparation might have proved a distraction to him, though it did not; his intentions I will not judge, yet whose instrument he was I may conceive. The night before, he had desired the favour he might not be pinioned till he came to the place of execution, for which I went myself betimes that morning to the Lord Chief justice of the King's bench, and justice Cressey: both of them upon my relation of the change found in him readily granted it, and sent that command by me to the sheriff, but he refused, and notwithstanding would have him pinioned in his lodging. Again I sent one to the Inns, who presently brought a command to him under the Lord Chief Justice his hand, with the consent of all the judges, then being at dinner; this also he disobeyed. For his pretence in the security of his person, one of the sheriffs of the city offered body for body, and assured him, that with such a guard and by sitting himself in the coach with him, there could be no danger of an escape. For himself (howsoever his friends thus stirred for him) he was contented, and long before the sheriff came, told me he was very sorry he had moved me in any such business, using this speech—"our Saviour carried his cross in the way, and why should I desire to be freed?" When he had pulled of his mourning gown he presented a strong black ribbon, which he had provided of purpose for the more decency, and in case it should not be thought strong enough a black girdle was offered or any other; the sheriff refused all, and had him bound with a three-penny cord as a common rogue, and would have had the hangman, or some other base fellow, come in and done it; nay, he would have had one to sit in the coach behind him, to have held him by the cord also, but that the constable of the castle would not suffer him. These things being very suspicious, if not apparent, to have been out of malice (either in regard of his religion, profession, or some private cause) I feared might have disturbed his charity, (as it enraged most of the standers by;) but as soon as I put him in mind of some of his former discourses, that this might be the devil's temptation and interruption of him in a way unexpected, he apprehended it fully, and so told the sheriff that it moved him not, and that he looked further than him in it, prayed God to forgive him, and that for his part he did it heartily, and would pray for him before he left the chamber. The sheriff withdrawing, he desired us that were there to join with him once more in prayer to God, for his special assistance against all sorts of enemies, that he expected now would beset him at once. We all kneeled down, but such a powerful excellent prayer did I scarce ever hear, so that all both wept and sobbed with him. And so after some comfortable speeches to us, and hope that, once more before he died, he should have a return of the same measure of comfort he had enjoyed the last night, the sheriff came in again and received him.

In the coach rode with him one of the sheriffs of the city, the sub-sheriff of the county, his own man, and myself. At his entrance he said, "This puts me in mind of Elijah's chariot he was carried to heaven in." When he saw the throng, saith he, "I am made a spectacle to men, but I hope

to angels also, who are attending to receive my soul." The time he spent there in singing some consolatory parts of psalms, (one of which was the twenty-third), in private ejaculations, now and then, in speeches to us concerning the parting of the soul from the body, the carriage of it by the angels, the vanity of this world, that his care was near at an end, &c. And to feed his thoughts with such things as were seasonable, I read now and then some special comfortable passages which I had picked out of the psalms, which he would gloss upon to his own application. When he came upon the bridge, and through the curtains of the coach (for it was closed) he discerned the gallows with the people gathered, he said unto me, "There is my Mount Calvary, from whence I hope to ascend to heaven." When he came to the place of execution, there were two things which might have disturbed him, the one was a fellow got upon one end of the gallows deriding him, and interrupting him when he began to speak, whom he answered not, but patiently bore it and proceeded; the other, the breaking of his footman's head, (who had run by the coach side, and diligently pressed nigh to attend) by one of the sheriffs of the city unknown, by laying about him to make room, who when he saw him with the blood running down his face, he bemoaned him only, and desired me that he might be removed out of his sight; to which I might add a third, happening in the conclusion of all, as he was ready to go up, viz. one calling to him about some papers or leases, whom the very standers-by cried down as very unseasonable. All which I could easily think the common enemy might have a hand in to distract him. When there was a silence made, he stood up, and made a large and an elegant speech, for the matter he had indeed resolved upon, and advised with me about it, but the form he put to his present expressions there; I had, indeed, desired him to pen it, lest the sight of death might then distract him, but his answer was "He would put his trust in God, who, he hoped, would not fail him in that last act, and was confident death would not disturb him."

To relate the speech itself, unless I could remember exactly his own expressions, would be but a wrong to him. His entrance was somewhat to this purpose, "Gentlemen, my first salutation to you is, God bless you, and God save you, and I desire you to pray the same for me; I am I think the first of my profession that ever came hither to this shameful end, and I pray God I may be the last: you are come hither to see a comedy turned into a tragedy, a miserable catastrophe of the life and actions of man in this world, &c."

In summe. He acknowledged the justice of the law of man, as God's in condemning him, who, as he had not deserved so he desired not to live. He observed the special hand of God throughout the whole business, both in the witnesses, in the jury, in the judges, and in himself.

1. In the witnesses and informers they were such as eat of his bread, came daily as friends to his table, some of them were at dinner with him the day before the complaint was put in against him in parliament.

2. The jury, howsoever he believed they were honest gentlemen, and went according to their consciences, yet the evidence was not so clear but they might have stuck at it; but he said it was *digitus Dei*, the justice of which he fully and solemnly acknowledged to a friend of his at that instant he heard the jury had returned him guilty, though he denied then (as he did now) the main thing in the indictment, which the law laid hold of, (and which hath been since confirmed by the confession of his chief accuser at his execution also,) yet in his own conscience applauded and magnified God's justice in it, and so burnt a volume of papers which, with a great deal of pains, he had wrote out of law books in his own defence.

3. In the judges, of whom he said, though some were hot against him, he imputed it only to their zeal against

vice which did deserve it, yet it could not sink into him that in law he could have been denied his council: that which he had pleaded to some errors in the indictment he conceived was reason, but God's hand was in it, and he most willingly submitted to it: all things in the end had turned to his good.

4. In the infatuating of himself; for his chief accuser, he said he could have sent into England and have had him indicted for a hand he had in a stealth there, easily in this time have outlawed him, and so his testimony had been void. For the jury, he could have excepted against twenty at least, and so howsoever have put it off till the next term, before which he might have had other thoughts; the foreman of the jury he knew was outlawed also, and these things he conceived he might have done lawfully in the pleading what he could for his life, yet omitted them; the cause (he said) was both the height of his spirit in scorning to stoop to such poor shifts and protractions, and the confidence he had there would be no need; he had trusted ever too much to his own wit and expressions, with which till now in any thing that ever he had attempted he had not miscarried, and that he should be so infatuated in this business, that so nearly concerned him, he took it to be God's hand evidently, which he now not only patiently yielded to, but with thankfulness embraced.

And thus much he thought fit to speak concerning those things he was justly condemned for. He confessed there were divers other heinous sins he had committed, the declaring of which publicly would rather increase the scandal he had given than repair it, and therefore he thought it not requisite: for those, he said, he had recollected them between God and himself, and had heartily repented of them; that he had revealed them with a sorrowful spirit to me there present, to whom he had opened his whole life from his youth till now, (to use his own words) as to his ghostly father, without any extenuation or concealing, and had received comfort, and for which as God had given repentance so he trusted forgiveness. He acknowledged his neglect of public preaching, and catechising in the Church, private prayer in his family, for which sins of omission he was justly given over to the sins of commission, for the neglect of the commandments of the first table let to fall into the breach of the second:—that he had come to the sacrament, and administered it with his sins upon him; his roving thoughts at divine service and sermon, with divers others, &c. And here he declared a very observable passage: not many years agone, he had a dangerous long sickness, when being sensible of the former neglect of his pastoral charge he made a solemn vow to God, that if he should recover again he would be diligent both in preaching and catechising every Sunday. After his recovery it so fell out, that the first time he went to Church with an intent to have begun, the judges of assize were at Waterford, and then a thought arose within him, that if he should now enter upon that practice which he had not used before, it would be imagined he did it for fear of them, and so deferring it that day never did it afterwards. Now soon after this, he observed, he grew worse than before, and so fell into those vices which had brought him to this shameful end. "I," saith he, "broke with God, and God withdrew his grace from me; I forsook him, and he left me to myself," which he applied to others of his profession in being warned by his example. Again, he had then also prayed, that if when he came to health he should start back from his vow, God would send some heavier judgment upon him than ever he had yet felt, that might subdue his stubborn disposition. Little did he then think of this particular, but now he verily believed it was the fruit of that wish and breach, and so gave God thanks for it. as the only means to bring him home.

He confessed he had been guilty of much over-reaching of men, but if his estate might be continuedto his wife, he had given charge for satisfac-

tion to be made to a penny; took notice of the justice of God upon him, who had formerly so thirsted after a name and fame; it was now given him, but a name of infamy which he desired might rest only upon himself, and not be imputed to his profession. He declared that he did heartily forgive all those that had a hand in his prosecution, and that they should hear him presently pray for them. And in conclusion, asked me, if I could remember any thing else was fit for him to declare and he would do it; and at that instant, not calling to mind any more, he desired the people to pray for him and with him, that God would magnify his mercy in forgiving so great a sinner. Then reading three psalms very apt for himself, the thirty-eighth, forty-second, and fifty-first, he then desired them again to join with him in prayer, that God would give him a further assurance of the forgiveness of his sins by the inward comforts of his spirit, and assist him still against the fear of death in this his last act. We all kneeled down with him, but it was such a moving prayer that never was I compassed so about with tears and sobs in my life, not bare weeping but gushing out of tears, which flowed from all that heard him; so that the very Papists, and some priests which I saw, kneeled down and wept also. The sum of it was a confession and aggravation of his sins, a begging of mercy that his soul might be bathed in the blood of Christ, a sealing of it to his conscience by the comforts of his spirit, to forgive all that were his enemies in this business, and to give them repentance that had sinned with him, that his penitency might be a means to abate the scandal, that he might be assisted against the assaults of Satan, and weakness of his corrupt nature now in this last act of death; prayed for a blessing upon his Majesty and his dominions, for his wife and children, and so commended his soul to God with a confidence of a happy change presently, &c. After this he desired me to sing the hundred and sixteenth psalm throughout (which, for the peoples better joining with him, I read.) Not long after it was begun, he whispered one of his friends that stood by him, "O! pray for me that God do not withdraw his spirit at this instant," and presently the tears trickled down his cheeks, with the continuance of which I observed him afterwards to sing the psalm throughout, the subject of which being matter of praise and joy, it might possibly arise from such spiritual comforts as he had tasted the night before, and in his prayers had craved again, which appeared in his undauntedness of spirit, now entering into the jaws of death. When the psalm was done, he rose up and said, I think I saw the town clerk of Waterford here, if he be, or any other of that town, I shall desire them to commend me to my neighbours there; that I have taken notice that none of the Romish Church, though differing from me in points of religion, had a hand in this complaint against me, though they had as much cause as others, for which I conceive I owe them thanks.

Another thing is concerning my burial: it is usual, indeed, for them of my profession to be buried in the Church, but I have given charge to the contrary, if they will bury me in the church-yard it is more than I have deserved; for my part I would be contented it were in the bottom of the sea, where I might never be remembered. "And now (saith he) I have done, only give me leave to be at some private prayers with myself, wherein I shall desire you in your thoughts to join with me, in praying God to assist me at this instant," and so kneeled down for a little space, as did the company near him also. When he arose, he said cheerfully, "Now I am ready," and took leave of all that were near him (whom he knew) man by man, taking them all by the hands, with such speeches as these, "I dread not death, God send us a happy meeting in heaven, I am but going before you." The whole company wept abundantly, and myself had most cause at his most affectionate expressions. Then he put off his mourning gown, hat, and black cap, and called

to his man for his other cap and handkerchief. When he was setting foot on the ladder, he turned with a smiling countenance towards the sheriff of the county (who all this time of his prayer and singing of psalms had sat by on horseback with his hat on his head, giving no reverence at all,) and said, "Master Sheriff, will you not take leave of your friends when you shall never see them again? What? not one word from you all this while! God forgive you, and I do from my heart, that usage of yours, which might have distracted me but did not: I have prayed for you even now;" and so went up the ladder, who when he saw so many weeping, said again to them, "I thank God I dread not death," and that it proceeded not from a presumption, but from a present sensible apprehension of God's mercy, and an inward peace of conscience; and so with a cheerful countenance looking about him, and seeing some he knew, whom he had not seen before, bowed to them and bade them farewell, desired them still to pray for him as long as he had life. I had him fast by the hand when he was upon the ladder, and to my admiration, his hand shook no more than mine. When he was gone as high as was thought fitting, and the rope put about his neck, he pinned the handkerchief about his face with his own hands (the cords with moving his arms being loosed) and said to the hangman, "honest friend, when thou art ready, tell me, and I will tell thee when I am ready," (to whom he then gave some little money he had about him,) prayed the sheriff he might not be turned off till he spake again, and when he had pulled the cap over his face, he said, "Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared for me;" commended his soul to God, with divers the like expressions, and not long after said, "Now I am ready," and from that time continued crying, "Have mercy, have mercy, &c." till he was turned off. When he felt the ladder stirring he put down his hands and laid hold on the sides of his cassock, and so stirred them not to the last, though some of his friends catched him by the hands lest he should have lifted them up, but I believe it was needless. By this his penitential Christian carriage the hearts of his enemies were moved, such as hated him in his life now loved him at his death, and I believe these many years there hath not been any that left the world with so many tears and cries of the beholders. When he had hung some three quarters of an hour, he was cut down and put into the same coach he came in, into which I went myself, and rode with him to the house where he was received; which I did both to feed my thoughts with mortality, in viewing the same body lying dead in the same place, where some two or three hours before I had seen it with a soul, in health, and full strength; as also lest some lies should have been raised of him by such as have used to do the like.

That night about ten of the clock they buried him at St. John's, in an outward part of the church-yard, according to his charge, where I did him that last office also.

About seven of the clock the verger of Christ's-church came to my lodging, and told me there was a rumour of a sermon, and an expectation of my saying somewhat of him, so much that the church was filled already to the doors, with abundance of Papists also; upon this sudden warning I was earnestly entreated to some short declaration, which, according to the time given me, I did observe. Many Papists (I am informed) were much affected both at what they heard before from him, and now of him. One who came casually thither fell into tears in the very Church, and was converted: and the next morning, being Sunday, went to St. Audoen's Church, heard the service and sermon, and so continued, of which I have a testimony in writing.

And thus you have heard at once a doleful and a joyful relation, hard it is to judge which his friends have most cause of.

O pœnitentia! quid de te novi referam? omnia ligata tu solvis, omnia clausa tu reseras, omnia adversa tu mitigas, omnia contrita tu sanas, omnia confusa tu lucidas, omnia desperata tu animas. Cyprian de Laud. Pœnitent.

THE LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

MY DEAR WIFE,

MARK well these last words of him, who these twenty years and upwards hath been your husband, and might have so continued much longer, by the course of nature, had not his continued and crying sins deservedly drawn this punishment upon him, to be cut off from the living as unworthy of their society in this life. I suffer for my wickedness, which I beseech God in his mercy through Jesus Christ to forgive me. In my suffering you suffer both in your credit and estate, and what else soever concerns this world. This advantage you have of me, I have only left unto me a small time of repentance, but you by God's grace may have a large time of amendment, which I would have you improve to the full and not lose a minute. Turn unto the Lord your God with all your heart. Clothe yourself with patience and thanksgiving. I doubt not but God will have mercy on you, and prove a husband to you and a father to my children, yea, I doubt not but you shall live with the same happiness and greater content than if I were with you.

Serve him, he will not fail you.

Bring up your children in the fear of God; that household which you keep, let it be the servants of God.

Above all things be diligent in private prayer, make all your needs known unto the Lord: undertake nothing which you cannot find in your heart to beg a blessing for.

Misconstrue not these my dying advertisements, which proceed (as in the presence of God) from true affection, that, at length, I might really give some supply to my former defaults, and put you in a right way for everlasting comfort; that though we part in this world, yet we may enjoy a more happy meeting in heaven, and after all our afflictions, be there partakers of endless bliss. So prays, and ever shall pray as long as he lives,

Your husband,

JONN ATHERTON.

Dec. 1, 1640.

Cast not away this paper when you have read it, but keep it as a jewel, and peruse it often, as the legacy of him who can now give no other.

THE LETTER TO HIS CHILDREN.

MY DEAR CHILDREN,

IT was ever my desire to have seen you well preferred, but God thought otherwise, and my sins would not suffer it, which have not only sentenced me to death, but bereaved me of that small worldly blessing which I purposed unto you as a patrimony and evidence of my fatherly affection. And how now it will be disposed of, or what share will come to your lot, I leave to God, who, as he hath given you body and soul, so I doubt not but will of his great goodness provide for your estate. What is left unto me, and cannot be taken from me, I freely impart and give unto you, not dividing it amongst you by shares and proportions, but giving each of you the whole, wherein though you communicate one with another in my blessing and last counsel, yet each without wrong to the other, may take and challenge the whole to herself.

First, the blessing of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, light upon you, give you a true knowledge of his word, a true fear of his will, and a true faith in his promises.

Let no day pass over you, wherein you do not call yourselves to a reckoning before you sleep, and make your peace with God for the offences of that day.

Be constant in private prayer twice every day, at the least, upon your knees, and God will be a Father unto you.

Do nothing great or small without first craving a blessing from God, and forbear that upon which you cannot find in your hearts to crave such a blessing.

Be content with whatsoever God shall afford you, poverty or riches; take heed, repine not at his pleasure, who in the end, (though it be sometimes contrary to our sense) works all things for the good of his children.

If you marry, prefer an honest man that fears God, before all other respects in the world.

Be obedient to your mother, love one another, and live in hope to enjoy again in heaven the company of your father,

Now ready to die,
JOHN ATHERTON.

Dec. 4, 1640.

Cast not away this loose paper, but each of you take a copy of it, and preserve it by you as a jewel all the days of your life.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

WILL one of your friends, or correspondents, who is critically acquainted with the Greek language, inform me whether, consistently with the genius of the language, πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως (Col. i. 15.) may be translated the first begotten or original author of every creature? This sense of the word was proposed by Erasmus and condemned by Beza, whether justly, I wish to be informed. In Il. ix. lin. 4, 5,

ως τις περι πορλακι μητερ
πρωτοτοκος, κινυρη, ϑ πριν εϊδυια τοκοιο

this word is taken in the active signification, but whether when connected with πασης κτισεως, and soon after followed by πρωτοτοκος εκ νεκρων it can be so understood, is not clear to my mind, though to those who are much conversant with the Greek, the whole question may appear so obvious as not to justify this formal inquiry.

INQUISITOR.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

ON perusing some parts of the last volume of the Christian Observer, I paused at page 559, where there are some hypothetical remarks on Exod. ix. 16, and considering the new and ingenious illustration of that difficult text to be highly probable, I was induced to examine and consider the words in their original context and connexions; expecting to be confirmed in the offered acceptation of the Hebrew word העמרתיך, on which your correspondent conceives the whole weight of the difficulty lies. But though I acknowledge myself indebted to him for many judicious and valuable hints on the subject and context at large, and cannot but approve of the motive and temper with which he writes, yet he has not proved that the word in question will fairly admit of the acceptation or rendering which he offers on this text. However probable his hypothesis may seem, it cannot, I conceive, be drawn from, nor well supported by, the supposed doubtful and difficult word.

After having examined most, if not all the passages in which עמד occurs, I do not find any one text in Scripture in which the radical idea is what your correspondent conceives it to be in Exod. ix. 16. viz. *exalted, raised, or elevated from a former state or station to another or new one;* but the primary idea of this root throughout the Hebrew scriptures is, *to stand, stay, continue, endure, attend, establish, wait, dwell, abide, or remain in the condition.* To enumerate all the instances in which this idea is maintained by this word would be tedious, the following may, therefore, suffice to shew its leading or prevailing import. Gen. xviii. 8. and xix. 17, 27. Exod. viii. 22. Deut. x. 8. Lev. xiii. 23. 1 Sam. xvi. 21, 22. 2 Kings xxv. 8. compared with Jerem. lii. 12. 1 Kings xvii. 1. 1 Chron. vi. 12, 13. 2 Chron. ix. 8. Nehem. xii. 44. Psalm cix. 41. cxi. 3. and cxix. 30. Eccles. ii. 9. Dan. x. 8. In all these, and I believe in every other text where this word occurs, it will be found to convey the same import. It would, therefore, seem forcing the sense to make it mean otherwise in this single text, or I should gladly acquiesce in the proposed interpretation. Not that I conceive the word or passage implies that Pharaoh was raised into life or being, or that God purposely created or brought him into existence, to display his wrath. Mr. Parkhurst ren-

ders the verse thus, "And truly for this cause have I raised thee up (i. e. not originally from thy birth, but I have caused thee to stand, or subsist,) I have supported thee under the preceding plagues, that thou mightest cause my power to be seen," &c.

G. B.

ON PSALM CVII.

THE reflection that all human events are under the direction of a supreme being, of infinite wisdom, power, and goodness, is a consideration from which piety has derived consolation in all times and places. This, indeed, is one of those truths which reason may have imperfectly discovered, but which, as well as other fundamental doctrines essential to the happiness of man, has been clearly revealed by an authority which discards all doubt, and defies contradiction. It connects man with his Maker, by the obligation of dependance on his part, and by the endearing promise of protection from that Being who alone can give it.

The hundred and seventh psalm contains an animated and most consolatory description of the manifold providence of Almighty God, in relieving the temporal miseries of those who put their trust in him; and it concludes with an impressive exhortation to study with attention the merciful dealings of Providence as exemplified in the preceding verses, "Whoso is wise, and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord."

I need not comment on the indispensable obligation of studying the holy scriptures at all times, nor upon the benefits to be derived from it; but there are times where particular passages, as more immediately applicable to our national or personal situation, ought to be perused with more than ordinary attention; and in this light I would recommend the psalm in question, at a period when we are threatened with the serious evil of an invasion by a merciless enemy. The lessons which it more particularly inculcates are a firm and humble dependance upon the Almighty in the hour of danger—"Then they cried unto the Lord in their trouble, and he delivered them out of their distresses;" and the duty of thanksgiving for the relief afforded—"Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men."

The duty here spoken of, is of perpetual and undeniable obligation even in the most untoward circumstances; for what appears, at first, a most severe affliction, often proves, in the end, a dispensation of mercy; a truth which is wonderfully exemplified in various passages of scripture, and particularly in the history of Joseph. The providence of the Almighty worketh in a thousand secret ways, to promote our spiritual as well as temporal welfare; and if, from the blindness and hardness of our hearts, we cannot always perceive them, we are still bound to submit. On all occasions it is our duty to say, with Job, "The Lord giveth, the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord;" or with David, "Oh give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever." Amen, amen.

T.

ON THE DECEITFULNESS OF SIN.

IT is an evidence of the moral government of God, that we cannot choose evil except as it is presented to our minds under the semblance of good. The success, therefore, of sin is in proportion to its deceitfulness. If men were truly sensible of the ingratitude, baseness, and impurity of every transgression; if they perceived its direct and necessary tendency; if they saw that it was introducing disorder into the government of God, and bringing misery and ruin wherever it entered, they would be more diligent in the resistance. But they are so backward to consider consequences, and so eager to gratify their inclinations at the expense of every remote and contingent evil, that the hope of immediate good can lead them to overlook the abiding distresses which disobedience must inevitably produce. The ambitious, the proud, the sensual, and the covetous, the dishonest and the oppressive, are severally deceived in this manner. They do not prefer evil as evil: but, disregarding its real nature, effects, and

consequences, they attend only to what promises a present benefit, however gross, inferior, or transient. Seeking after good, they listen to the slightest proposals, and are enraptured with the most trivial success. Thus a deceived heart turneth them aside. Seducers are thus described as deceiving and being deceived; and we are, accordingly, taught to pray against the deceits of the world, the flesh, and the devil.

The deceitful nature of sin forms, however, no extenuation of its guilt. Men are the voluntary, and, too frequently, the determined captives to their enemy. Light is come into the world. The word of God has for its object, to correct the misapprehensions of our minds. It strips every crime of its mask. It presents every action, not in the mist of panegyric, or the mistaken dictates of custom or opinion, but in the definite and unclouded attire of truth. If men would approach this light, darkness would disappear. Whatever iniquity may, from a partial view, seem desirable, let it be applied to this standard, and its obliquity will be discovered. If an action be enveloped with the obscurity of universal usage or universal censure, let the scriptures be referred to, and it will be at once appreciated.

The public instructions of the church have a principal advantage, not only as to the exhibition, but as to the efficacy of truth. Do we not resort to the house of God that the deceitfulness of iniquity may be exposed? That our apprehensions of its evil may be rectified and increased? That our dread of its approach may be quickened and confirmed? That our convictions of its innate deformity may be so wrought into the very temper of our minds, that we may abhor it however attractive, and detect it however disguised?

The influence of secret devotion also is powerful and salutary. There is no duty which can be permanently and vigorously performed, unless it be connected with this. It tends directly to purify the heart, to elevate the affections, to correct those false or contracted notions which even our necessary intercourse with the world will unhappily impress, and to awaken every accurate, and favourable, and energetic emotion.

But with these obvious modes of prevention in their hands, what multitudes are the daily victims of the subtilty of their spiritual foes! Sin has ever deceived, and still continues to deceive us, to our eternal ruin. God warns us by his word, his ministers, his providence; he calls upon us to watch over our own hearts, to resist the very appearance of evil, to take to us the whole armour of God; he assures us that the wages of sin is death, that the broad road leadeth to destruction—and yet most men are unconcerned, they remit every kind of watchfulness, and are unprepared for the slightest assault: they yield to every temptation, and vainly assure themselves they can at any time overcome its pressure and clear themselves from its entanglements and snares. How many are in this way fatally allured, and awake not to correct their mistake! How many only learn their folly by its consequences, and have, at last, this consideration to aggravate their wo, that they wilfully submitted to be deceived, that they neglected the means of safety which God had afforded, and that now they know the truth indeed, but know it too late!

With these impressions of the danger which surrounds us, the duty of a Christian is sedulously to adhere to the word of God in forming his judgment, and diligently to watch over himself as to his daily conduct. He is in an enemy's country. Multitudes on all hands lie in wait to deceive. He is, therefore, to disregard what the world may choose to determine, or what even his dearest friends may consider as laudable, and to act simply upon the judgment of God in the scriptures, to regard that as the unerring standard in every situation; and having thus formed his opinions, to exercise a jealous vigilance, a holy circumspection, a salutary fear, an habitual humility in all his ways. CLERICUS SURRIENSIS.

Sept. 29, 1802.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

CHRISTIANS appear to be by no means agreed in opinion, whether it is allow-

able to make use of ridicule and satire. I will take the liberty of offering you some remarks on this subject, for the consideration of your readers.

As love to God and love to man are the two great commandments, no part of our conduct towards others will stand the test of christian scrutiny, which does not accord with these dispositions. Whenever our conduct therefore is at variance with love to God and man, we violate the divine law.

In bringing our conduct to the test of this principle, we must not think it sufficient if we pursue the course which, *in our opinion*, is calculated to promote God's glory, or the welfare of our fellow-creatures. In forming his judgment of men, God looks not at the tendency of their conduct, but at the motives and dispositions which actuate them. He looks at the heart, and requires that its active principle shall be love. Except we follow the same course in judging ourselves, we may be most fatally deceived; and while we suppose ourselves to be in the right course, because we conceive our ends and objects to be right, we may be really following those who, at the time that they indulged the worst passions in persecuting Christians, verily thought that they were doing God service. Our crime will be the same in kind if we act under the influence of wrong dispositions, though, instead of persecuting Christians, we should think ourselves doing service not only to God, but to his son Jesus also.

Now, Sir, on what objects are ridicule and satire employed? On the vicious and the absurd. And what feelings does love excite on a view of vice or folly? Concern and pity are its legitimate fruits. Love to God will produce deep concern that his authority should be slighted and his will opposed; and love to man will excite in us sorrow and pity, when we see our fellow-creatures offending their Maker, and deeply injuring if not ruining themselves. And do these dispositions induce men to satirize others, or to make them appear ridiculous? I may appeal to every man's bosom for an answer; and that answer will, as it seems to me, decide the point in question. If those feelings, which are inseparable from love, are not only uncongenial with satire or ridicule, but absolutely and decidedly adverse to their use; then satire and ridicule must be the offspring, not of love, but of a principle which is at variance with the Christian spirit.

This reasoning will be admitted by many with respect to making vice the object of ridicule or satire; for it will be confessed, that vice should raise emotions of sorrow and pity, which naturally suggest prayer and plain affectionate advice for the reformation of the vicious. But many who allow the force of this argument, will pause before they extend its application to the case of folly. They have been so much in the habit, on the view of folly, of indulging in themselves, and of witnessing in others, those feelings which lead to satire and ridicule, that they cannot bring themselves to think that concern and pity ought to have had possession of their bosoms on such occasions. How far they are right or wrong must be decided by considering, what is the real nature of folly in the sight of God. When this is determined, there can be no difficulty in deciding what ought to be the feelings of those who are to be renewed in his image.

Folly and absurdity, in some cases, are natural and irremediable; in others, they may fairly be imputed to the neglect or to the abuse of natural faculties. We will first consider the latter case.

Behold then a man who has disfigured the work of his Maker, who has chosen to be ignorant when wisdom was within his reach, or absurd when he might easily have discovered the line of propriety. What Christian will say, that such a man is free from blame; or that he is not deeply culpable in the sight of God? If so, he must be an object of cordial pity, and his state and his conduct must excite a lively concern in every one whose mind and will are become conformable to those of his Maker. To this case, then, the preceding argument, respecting ridiculing or satirizing vice, clearly applies; and God grant that no unholy levity, nor perverse temper, may ever make us

forget its application! For man to laugh at what makes angels weep, would be thought one of the most monstrous sights that can be imagined, were the mortal film duly purged from our eyes.

But the absurdity which excites great mirth is natural. And is not the absurdity of laughing in such a case greater than the absurdity which raises the laughter? This is so apparent, that some of your readers may wonder that I take up their time for a moment in proving it. Let them rather wonder, that there should ever have been a time, (and such a time most of them may remember, whatever may be the case with them at present,) when they could stoop so low as to divert themselves and others by jokes on distortion, deformity, or decrepitude.

But ridiculing natural defects, whether corporal or mental, is as gross a violation of the law of love as it is of that of wisdom. Could we, if we really loved our neighbours, derive pleasure from the circumstance of others not enjoying any blessing, which has been bestowed on ourselves or on mankind in general?

The reasons which have been offered against satire and ridicule appear to me irresistible; but, perhaps, they may receive some corroboration from the following considerations:

1. Let us fix our attention on him, who in his life displayed every excellence, and avoided every sin. Look at his methods of instruction; look at the whole spirit of his character, and the whole tenour of his conduct; do these, or any of them, give countenance to ridicule and satire? His beautiful simplicity, modest dignity, and divine benevolence, rise infinitely above such arts; and let us never forget, that he was to us an example that we should follow his steps.

2. The incompatibility of ridicule and satire with genuine and warm affection, is further proved by our experience in the nearest and dearest relations of life. An affectionate husband or father sees faults in his wife or son; but does he feel disposed to make them the butts of his ridicule, or the objects of his satire? Why does he not? Because he loves them too well to use them in this manner; and if we are to love our neighbour as ourselves, are we not bound to love all men too well to treat them thus?

3. It was sufficient for the condemnation of satire and ridicule to shew, that they neither sprung from Christian love nor were compatible with it. This has been done. But some minds may, perhaps, receive more complete satisfaction on these important points, if the birth and parentage of satire and ridicule can be distinctly traced, and shewn to be such as reflect nothing but dishonour upon them. What then appear to be the dispositions which generally accompany the use of satire and ridicule? To display wit and ability; to excite mirth without much consideration of the end in view, or of the manner of doing it, or of the feelings of others; and even not unfrequently to make others feel their inferiority, and to give them pain; these, or some of them, are, I fear, almost always apparent among the motives of the humourist and the satirist. Though his professed object may be to exhibit vice to view, in its native deformity, and stripped of its disguises, and to reform the vicious; yet if he choose ridicule or satire as his instrument, let him pause before he ventures to pronounce his motives to be hallowed. Let him pause before he rests satisfied that his bosom is under the predominant influence of love to God and man. But though he should satisfy himself that his zeal to do good is derived from a hallowed and not a carnal source, still can he satisfy himself that in his choice of means his motives have been equally pure and hallowed? This is a point, which, if the foregoing remarks have any just foundation, it will behoove him to consider most seriously, with humble and earnest prayer to Him who alone can strip the human heart of its manifold disguises, that he may be enabled to discover the truth.

4. The attention of the reader has been called to the motives of the satirist, because, as has been well said by the best female writer of our day,

"christianity is a religion of motives;" and if they be wrong, nothing can supply the defect.

But without losing sight of this truth, let us for a few moments consider how far ridicule and satire are really well calculated to reform mankind. Their advocates boast, that in many cases they are the only instruments which can be employed for that purpose, and in many others the best; that many follies are so humble, that grave admonition cannot stoop to notice them; and if it did would notice them in vain; and that many vices are so gigantic, and those who practise them so callous, as to be proof against every weapon but the polished and barbed dart of satire. Instead of entering on a long disquisition on these different pleas, and exposing their unchristian foundation, I shall content myself with giving a general answer to them.

First, then, if ridicule and satire really deserve the high character which is given them, how came it to pass that our blessed Saviour, whose object it was to lay the axe to the root of all sin of every kind and degree, and to touch the heart of every sinner, never employed them? Nay further, how came he to require his followers to act on principles which, as has been shewn, forbid their employment? Let not man trust to his own reasonings and views of things, when they are opposed by such authority.

But it may be remarked, in the second place, that satire and ridicule excite feelings, in those against whom they are directed, extremely unfavourable to Christian reformation: for what is Christian reformation? Not a change of outward conduct while the heart remains unchanged; not a stop put to the open career of vice or folly by the fear of shame. No, Sir, these are poor triumphs; but they are all that satire or ridicule could ever boast. Christian reformation is a victory over sin in his strong holds, and in the centre of his power; a change of the heart, a renewal of the image of God in the soul of man. Can the most able masters of ridicule or satire boast of any such conquests? Must they not confess, that their power reaches not beyond externals; and that instead of impressing the heart with the divine affection of love, they leave those, who have crouched beneath their rod, smarting under a sense of unkind usage, and so far from being disposed to love their *reformers*, that they almost always seize any opportunities of private recrimination and revenge which present themselves. Is this any thing like reformation in a Christian sense? Instead of being turned from the power of Satan unto God, the victims of ridicule and satire are, it is much to be feared, placed more under the power of Satan, by becoming more like him in disposition and character. "*Si vis ut ameris, ama.*" It is clearly love which wins the heart to love. If then in endeavouring to reform others, we proceed in a way opposite to that which love would dictate, what result are we to expect?

The personal experience of every man can scarcely fail to justify these observations. Let each of your readers, Mr. Editor, ask himself what have been his sensations when he has been ridiculed or satirized; whether, on such occasions, he has felt Christian love spring in his bosom, or whether his emotions have been of a very different nature. I feel pretty confident, that the fair answer of his own conscience will preclude the necessity of any further argument being urged by me on this subject.

B. T.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

I HAVE often occasion to lament, that many ministers of the Gospel, instead of saying with the scriptures, that Christ died for sinners, that he maketh intercession for *the transgressors*, &c. adopt a Jewish phraseology, and say Christ died *for his people*, intercedes *for his people*, &c. by which they evidently mean those whom they understand to be meant by the scripture phrase of the elect, whether known or unknown of men. I do not mean now to inquire whether their view of the subject be truly the scripture doctrine; I only assert, that admitting it so to be, it is not the scripture language. The people of God in the Old Testament uniformly designs the Israelites as a nation, even in their worst state, and in the New Testament, when the term *his people* is

used, it always means *the Jews as such;* and no instance can be found of the converted Gentiles being so denominated by the Apostles. It is true the servants of God may now be called his people, in allusion to the ancient scripture phrase; but then it should only be applied to those who, from their spirit and conduct, appear in the sight of all men to be such, which is not the case with every Christian. To denominate Christians of a less perfect growth *the people of God*, is really to cast a stumbling block before the people of the world, not to speak of its effect in the Church. Your correspondent B. T. has said some good things on reproof; he observes that the whole truth should not always be spoken, since some degree of appropriate preparation is needful in order to the due reception of every part of it, and we have the highest authority and example for such discretion. Admitting then that the doctrine of particular redemption is a true one (by which I mean *the limitation*, not only of the final effects, but of every intention of our Lord's death) should it be preached to unawakened or newly awakened persons? With respect to the former does it prepare them for the word of exhortation? Does it not put a shield into their hands, which they will be fain to use to preserve their own dangerous security? With respect to the latter, is it a portion in due season? Will it not make void many a word of scripture, the full force of which they greatly need to receive? If I must have human authority to support me in what I have said, I will quote the very respectable one of our British deputies at the synod of Dort, who, though Calvinists themselves, made a noble stand at this very point, viz. that the death of Christ should be preached as available for the salvation of the whole world. It is true they restricted the operation of efficacious grace to the elect, but still what they contended for was of importance, to give strength to the ministry of the Gospel; otherwise let us drop the word of exhortation (as some good men have thought the only consistent conduct,) and not make the two parts of our sermons contradict each other. That this way of preaching does not give more offence to the world than it now does, can only be resolved into two causes—First, That men give not the attention to a sermon which they do to a common newspaper; or secondly, that if they understand enough to guess what is meant, they use it as an opiate to quiet themselves in sin, directly contrary to the intention of the preacher. It is a certain fact, that many reason thus—My present habits are such, that, though I know them to be wrong, I have no inclination to break them; the effort would be painful, and I have not now the power (they mean they have not the motive, which an alarming sense of danger, and the apprehension of the absolute necessity of the measure, would supply, but which this doctrine does not and cannot minister;) still I hope a day of power may come which will renovate my will, and then what is now difficult will be easy, nay pleasant. I need not point out the illusion and the danger of this reasoning.

Were ministers, as well as hearers, ignorant of this doctrine, would their zeal and solicitude for souls be thereby diminished? Would a fear, lest some should perish through their unfaithfulness, make them less useful, though it would, I allow, make them less easy? A person once told me, it was necessary for him to believe the doctrine of universal salvation, because the idea that any should perish, especially of his friends, made him unhappy. I did not think this a valid argument; on the contrary, I thought such unhappiness might be good both for himself and his friends also, and I doubt not you are of my opinion. My request, therefore, to you as a Christian Observer is this, if you judge my letter unfit for insertion, that you will not hastily dismiss the subject. You know how to handle it discreetly and practicably, and certainly no serious clergyman of the Church of England can think it heterodox to concur with such men as Bishop Davenant, Bishop Hall, Bishop Carleton, and Dr. Ward; still more, when a synod so rigidly orthodox as that of *Dort*, submitted to their judgment in this matter.

I will only add one word more. When some ministers lay open what they call the whole Gospel plan to their auditory, have they not this idea latent in their

minds, though, probably, not considered by them, viz. that the efficient ministry to souls is to be performed by the same miraculous faith, which the Apostles exercised when they performed bodily cures? I wish this to be examined, for it is certainly a pernicious, because a very erroneous, idea; and appears to me calculated to lead both the preacher and hearer to estimate preaching as the only means of regeneration (and that as a channel of immediate and efficacious power;) and thus to undervalue those other subordinate means of reflection, self-denial, obedience to the command of cutting off a right hand, and plucking out a right eye, &c. for want of which I scruple not to say, I really believe, many souls are eternally lost, who might, with better teaching, have been saved. This, if a truth, is a very awful one, and its bare probability constitutes a valid plea for my offering these remarks, and asking your concurrence on a matter of such importance.

I hope I have sufficiently explained my meaning, which is not to enter into controversies, or agitate questions, which are sooner moved than settled, but simply to plead for the *scripture phraseology*; that the invitation of the Gospel may, at least, appear as unfettered in our pulpits as it does in the word of God; and I see no ground for any good man to object to such a proposal.

HONESTAS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DURING the reign of the late Directory in France, I was one day conversing with a Romish priest who feelingly lamented the eclipsed glories of his Church, and as a specimen of her former lustre, expatiated on the pomp with which he had seen a *fête Dieu* celebrated in Flanders. With a view of leading the discourse to something more useful, I observed, that the presence of God in his Churches was their true glory; he immediately caught the words I had incautiously spoken, and replied with eagerness, "That is the very thing, the glory of *our* Church is the real presence on her altars." I felt disconcerted at this application of my remark, which I relate, not so much because it may vindicate your correspondent's allusion to Matt. xxviii. 20. (No. 19, p. 416,) as that it furnished me with some reflections which I found useful. The Church of Rome retains the image of every doctrine and every practice of antiquity; it may be said, she has the "shadow of good things" *which are past*, but in too many respects has lost the substance. And whosoever narrowly watches the actings of his own mind will perceive that he also is subject to "take the change," and that in the exercise of devout affections, or pious meditations, he often imperceptibly exchanges the kernel for the shell. We ascend to God by the medium of outward imagery (by which I mean his works of creation) and internal association; and we often descend by the same means. This experience, whilst it enforces the duty of inward watchfulness for ourselves, may also teach us candour and tenderness towards others.

These observations, Mr. Editor, may be too obvious to deserve notice, in which case you will pardon their intrusion. Your note on the letter from a Serious Inquirer, was the immediate cause of my recollecting them, as it appears to me that the consecrated wafer is considered by the Church of Rome as holding the place of the *Shechinah* in the Holy of Holies; and whoever reades the Treatise *on the daily service* of the Temple, by Maimonides, must be struck with the resemblance of the ceremonies there recorded in burning the incense, lighting the sacred lamps, &c. with the daily service of the Romish Church.

C. L.

Extracts from a charge delivered June 9, 1713, to the Clergy of Sodor and Man. By Bishop Wilson.

"A MELANCHOLY act which you have all heard of, obliges me to require you to take notice of the rules we have set us. The rubrick before the office for burial of the dead, *expressly requires* that office shall not be used *for any that have laid violent hands upon*

themselves. The Church does not leave it to every clergyman *to expound this* in a favourable sense; that such only are excluded from the benefit of Christian burial, who with *a sound mind spilled their own blood*, for nobody ever did so. Nor did she subject her clergy to be governed by the verdicts of ignorant or prejudiced juries; but she designed to discourage such actions as much as may be, that people under temptations of laying violent hands upon themselves may be more accustomed to go to their proper pastors, to lay open their fears and temptations, and to receive ghostly comfort and absolution, for want of which there are too many of *these instances* amongst us.

Now, instead of making people afraid of hiding their griefs from their spiritual physicians; if we allow them Christian burial, we really give them hopes to believe that there is no great matter what way men go out of the world. Nay, we encourage juries to bring in, it may be, unjust verdicts; as their verdicts, it seems, encourage us to break the Church's express commands. One of the most able divines of the Church of England, Dr. Adams by name, whose book of self-murder is approved of by all that have read it, complains, in most serious terms, of this liberty of some clergymen and fault of most juries.

"I should be very ill used, if what I have now said should be made use of to add further sorrow to the affliction of those, that have sorrow enough for the late visitation they have had on this account. I have as compassionate a concern for the living, and am as far from passing a rash judgment upon the dead, as any of my brethren; but I would have us all to govern ourselves by the rules set us by the Church, and in doubtful cases to take advice; a thing which has been very imprudently overlooked in this late instance, which is such *an irregularity* as shall not be passed over so easily for the future." See the Bishop's Life by Cruttwell, prefixed to his works in two volumes, 4to. 1 vol. p. 37.

In another charge, p. 41, the bishop says, "there is another affair very well worthy of our most serious consideration at this time. There have, since our last meeting, been several instances of persons *dying drunk*; you all know that the rubrick requires that the office for the burial of the dead shall not be used for any that lay violent hands upon themselves, which no question was designed to discourage self-murder. Whether this sin I have mentioned does not come under that denomination, is fit to be considered; I am sure if I were desired to read the office on such an occasion I could not do it, whatever should be the consequence, for reasons very obvious to any body who reads that office with attention."

MISCELLANEOUS.

Strictures on Sir Robert Wilson's History of the British Expedition to Egypt.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

THE cause of irreligion, as it appears to me, is not more effectually promoted by the false principles to be found in those books professing to treat of religion and morality which you regularly review, than through the medium of common histories of voyages and travels, and a variety of other entertaining and apparently innocent publications. May I take the liberty of suggesting that many of your readers, and especially the younger part of them, whose principles may not yet be formed, would unquestionably be much obliged to you for an occasional paper exposing any dangerous part of those works, whether ancient or modern, which obtain a general perusal.

Under the impression of this truth, I shall now offer to you a few remarks on the History of the British Expedition to Egypt, lately published by Sir Robert Wilson. I have read with much interest the account given by that officer of the gallant conduct of our Egyptian army; and I can scarcely express how much gratitude I feel towards those men who have gone forth so cheerfully to assert our rights

and defend our cause, amidst the tainted gales of Cairo, and the burning sands of Alexandria.

An army of about sixteen thousand men, of whom seldom more than thirteen thousand could be brought into the field, aided by a reinforcement from home of two or three thousand men, in the course of five or six months, subdued a body of French veterans amounting to upwards of thirty thousand, although the French were in possession of all the strong places of the country.* It is true, that we were assisted in the siege of Cairo by twenty-five thousand Turks, but every one knows their great inferiority to Europeans, and, therefore, the simple fact of the entire conquest of Egypt, by the force which I have stated, would speak sufficiently for itself, even if no particular account of military actions had been given to us. The gallantry, however, of the landing; the battle of the 21st of March, in which one of the wings of our army sustained and repelled the utmost efforts of a French force equal to twice their own number; and many other engagements of smaller bodies, particularly one near Alexandria, in which less than two hundred British charged with the bayonet and drove before them about six hundred French, conspire to prove the unrivalled bravery of our countrymen.

Two remarkable atrocities of Bonaparte are mentioned in this history: the one, the murder of some hundreds of his own sick by the means of poison; the other, the massacre in cold blood of several thousand prisoners. The public are indebted to Sir R. Wilson for the first publication of these facts, of which, as I understand, there is no reason to doubt the authenticity.

It may, perhaps, seem harsh to add any censure on the work of this author, after an acknowledgment of the pleasure received from his narration. In truth, Sir, I do not propose generally to blame the work, but to lament an important omission. It is no less than this, the omission of all acknowledgment of a God and of a divine Providence, as directing the winds and the waves, as appointing the victory to whom he pleases, and as determining the lot of individuals on the day of battle. In one part, indeed, of the book (I mean in a proclamation of Menou, the French commander in chief, inserted in the appendix,) I find the recognition of a deity, but I confess myself as much pained by the religious professions of this general, as by the want of all reference to a Providence through the two hundred and fifty pages of the narrative of Sir Robert Wilson; for Menou merely adopts some religious phrases of Mahometanism for purposes of temporary policy. "In the name of God, clement and merciful," says this Frenchman, "there is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet. It is God directs the armies, and grants victory to whom he pleases. The English, &c. have appeared off the coast: if they set a foot on shore they shall be thrown into the sea." How melancholy is the reflection that the reader is thus taught to associate the idea of the grossest hypocrisy with the mention of religion, and to conceive a total abstinence from all acknowledgment of a Supreme Being to be among those marks of superiority which characterize the British conquerors.

"Destiny" is that power to which Sir Robert Wilson is disposed to ascribe all the successes of the campaign; for, not to quote a variety of passages in which this sentiment appears, he expressly says, [see note to page 212,] "destiny seems to have taken in this expedition the only possible way to success, and has left the impression of her power on the mind of every man employed there." I am afraid it is too true, that many of the British army, I fear also that not a few of the British nation, are much inclined to refer human events to fortune, chance, fate, or destiny, rather than to the over-ruling Providence of that Being, whose character is unfolded to us in Scripture. Destiny is also the great principle of the modern infidels. This is that Deity whom it has been the labour of philosophers to exalt into the throne of the Almighty; a

* Some other accounts make the number of the French twenty-six thousand.

most convenient God both for the man of reflection who is destitute of all religious principle, for the follower of pleasure who is resolved to riot in licentiousness, for the warrior who is disposed to plunder without mercy, and for the politician who is unbounded in his ambition and not to be restrained in his iniquity. For destiny has no moral law: it acknowledges neither a heaven nor a hell; it is a God which neither punishes transgressors nor is "the rewarder of them that diligently seek him:" it views with equal eye, the oppressor and the oppressed, the dishonest and the upright, the licentious and the chaste; it encourages no contrition; it suggests no repentance; it regards alike the persevering criminal and the humble penitent.

I grant that some persons may use the expressions of fortune, chance, or even of fate and destiny, without implying a renunciation of their christian faith; in general, however, I must insist that this language, even when used by professing christians, is but too strong an indication of practical infidelity.

"We give to chance, blind chance, ourselves as blind,
The glory of thy work——
But chance is not, or is not where thou reign'st:
Thy Providence forbids that fickle power,
(If power she be that works but to confound,)
To mix her wild vagaries with thy laws,
Yet thus we doat, refusing while we can
Instruction, and inventing to ourselves
Gods such as guilt makes welcome."

Permit me to offer another remark. Many persons are extremely anxious to oppose the propagation of the doctrines of Calvinism, and chiefly on the ground of evil apprehended from the predestinarian part of this system. But what, Sir, is the predestination of the Calvinist, when compared with the fate and destiny in which so many inhabitants of this Christian land believe! Is not the predestination of, at least, every sober Calvinist the predestination of a wise and holy God, producing effects by a chain of suitable causes, connecting means with ends, and governing himself by moral rules, though these are not always discernible by mortal eyes? It appears to me, Sir, that some of us are too much afraid of predestination of this sort, while a mass of practical atheism, of atheism, which many pious Calvinists are very instrumental in removing, is faintly perceived and but too slightly regarded.

I admit, indeed, that there is a bad species of predestination, bad because it borders on that doctrine of fate of which I am complaining, tending to mitigate the evil of sin, and leading some to presumption, and others to despair. The Turks, as is well known, and as appears by some passages in the work of Sir R. Wilson, abound in something which they term prayer, and in the acknowledgment of the hand of God, and are, at the same time, strong predestinarians. But they are apt to tempt the Supreme Being rather than to trust in him; and as a God of purity they know him not, "being abominable and disobedient, and to every good work reprobate." Let our Calvinists take care to avoid every degree of their error.

There is another fault in the history of Sir R. Wilson, a fault common, indeed, to the narratives of military commanders, which deserves some notice. The reader is too much led to conceive, that the duties of the man are altogether merged in those of the soldier. Undoubtedly the fulfilment of all that belongs to our particular profession, constitutes a material part of our obligation as Christians. But the general law of God is the great rule for human conduct, and "whoso keepeth the whole law and yet offendeth in one point, he is guilty of all." Sir Robert Wilson, in describing Menou, speaks handsomely of him on the ground "of his having retired from a government, where he had the full command over the revenue without appropriating any part to his own advantage." I was glad to perceive that merit out of the profession enters thus far into Sir Robert Wilson's general estimate of character. I lament, however, that the French general is so favourably spoken of as he is in the following passage. "Although (says Sir Robert) the *destiny* of General Menou had been so unfortunate, still *justice demands that his character should be highly respected by his country.* Whatever military

faults may be urged against him, no enemy can traduce his devotion to the service in which he was engaged. Attached by principle and duty to the republic, he remained faithful and zealous for her interests and honour." No notice is here taken of that abominable hypocrisy which induced this too faithful representative of Bonaparte to issue the proclamation, declaring, "that there is no God but God, and that Mahomet is his prophet." "Perhaps," (says the writer of the narrative,) "a candid and public inquiry into this campaign before a tribunal, where General Menou could expose all the particulars of his situation, might altogether exonerate him from the censure which is ever attached to ill success." What might be the issue of such a trial I know not, but of this I am sure, that when Gen. Menou shall be summoned before that still higher tribunal, at which he must "give account of all things done in the body," the proclamation to which I have alluded will form one part of those "particulars" of his Egyptian expedition on which the awful judgment will be given; and that nothing less than the blood of that Son of God, whose religion he has renounced and whose name he has despised, will be sufficient to obliterate his crime, a crime which his supreme desire of military success perhaps tempted him to commit. As a Christian, I must add, may he repent and be forgiven!

I have been the more earnest on this subject, because I am persuaded that a blind and unqualified admiration of merely military merit has been one of the great causes of that calamitous state of Europe which we all now deplore, and because there is, at this time, more than usual danger lest the same error should gain ground in England. Why was it that Bonaparte, notwithstanding all his crimes, became the idol of the French? Because being themselves inflated with military pride, they forgot the man in the warrior; because christian virtue was little esteemed in France, and a fierce Roman spirit was substituted in the place of the mild graces of the Gospel. And why is it that the military Republic of France will continue dangerous to Britain and to the world, even though Bonaparte were to fall? Because the same spirit would survive. Let us give all due praise to military men. They stand foremost as the defenders of our laws, our liberties, and our religion. But let them be reminded, that we wish the men who fight for our religion to be themselves religious, and that a part at least of their glory consists in the excellency of the cause in which they are engaged. We honour the memory of Abercrombie, not only on account of his skill and valour in the field, and his other virtues, but because he was the General who represented a free and just nation, and from a provident regard to the safety of our eastern empire, was sent to recover a country which the unprincipled tyrant of the French having violently seized, was resolved no less unjustly to retain.

Excuse, Mr. Editor, the freedom of these remarks, which are offered with a view to the general benefit of your readers. SCRUTATOR.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

London, Jan. 6, 1803.

SIR,

MUSING to-day on the present festival, which is to be celebrated this evening with plumb-cakes, by kings, queens, and other *dramatis personæ*, I was endeavouring to trace the *origin* of these festive rites, and it appeared to me they were a relic of the religious plays which constituted a part both of the devotion and entertainment of the middle ages, when the people, instead of being instructed from the scriptures, were amused with farcical representations of the most awful mysteries of christianity, the history of the redemption of man being turned into a puppet-show! It is to be deplored, that the same practice prevails in Spain and Portugal, from the same causes, even to this day.

The Church of Rome denominates the wise men who came to seek the new-born Saviour, *kings*, and the Papists are accustomed to represent the holy virgin as a *queen;* I suppose they also introduced some imaginary characters to fill the scene, and they might

appoint some to represent the *beasts in the stable*; truth or unity of place being, probably, no part of their dramatic excellence. I remember, not many years back, it was usual in the South of France to introduce an ass into the Church in solemn procession on the day of celebrating the flight of the holy family into Egypt; and it would be very suitable to the ideas of wit which belonged to that period to which I refer, to make a chief part of the entertainment consist in men's undertaking to represent brutes, but this part of the drama may be considered as merely conjectural. The ornamented *cake* (which is frequently done with *stars*) may be supposed to denote the *offerings brought by the wise men*, and the star which was their guide. Happily these festivities with us are unassociated with a scripture history, and may therefore be considered innocently as children's play. But may not this day in religious families be rendered more rationally entertaining, and really subserve a pious and benevolent intention? The festival is named by our Church, *the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles*, and is, therefore, an interesting one to us; and since the conversion of heathen nations begins now to occupy the attention of Christians beyond what it formerly did, may not some hints be suggested by the observance of this day, whereby the minds of our children will be interested for those of their own age among the Heathen?

Some years ago I engaged with a young lady, then about fifteen, and her mother, to send a box annually, stored with little presents, to the children of the German missionaries stationed among the Esquimaux on the forlorn coasts of Labrador. We pleased ourselves with the idea, that our figs, and raisins, and tamarinds would, to these little ones, who had never seen a tree blossom or a flower vegetate, appear like fruits of Paradise; and I have now by me some letters we received in return, together with neat works in sealskin, and variegated stones, the only produce of their barren soil which they could call beautiful, and which they sent as tokens of gratitude. Might it not be practicable for our children to prepare garments, or other presents, for the children of foreign missionaries, or rather of the Heathen among whom they reside, which should be made up with great ceremony on *this* day; and during their repast (for I would not abrogate the festival or exclude the cake) they might be entertained by their parents with some account of the countries and inhabitants whither their presents were bound; and with relations, suited to their age, of the proceedings of the missionaries, which would render the feast more instructive, and not less engaging than it is at present. The previous preparations of the year would contribute to give interest to the day; and whilst the employment tended to enlarge their ideas and expand their hearts, it would have this peculiar advantage, that the objects of attention being *absent*, the danger of forming little dependants and flatterers by their infant bounty would be avoided.

I have ventured to send you these hints, Mr. Editor, in the hope that if you think them worthy of regard, you will recommend them to the attention of parents, who delight to see their children pleased, and would still more delight to see them improved by

TWELFTH-DAY.

Copy of an original letter of the Bishop of Elphin. Direction gone. Supposed to Sir G. Radcliffe.

I SHOULD excuse my idlenes, or my neglect, or my unthankfullnes, since that I received your letter so longe agoe, and the booke (that good and usefull booke for these loose tymes) written by Dr. Tailer, which you sent me. I do confesse that I am oft-times too idle and too much addicted to crastine delays, so that I am inforced to omitt sometimes (an undeniable buisines interveninge) what I was resolved to do the next day. But if *(habere gratias)* to have a thankefull mind will free a man from ingratitude, I shall never prove unthankfull. *Gratias etiam ago quam maximas.* I thanke you, and thanke you againe and againe, for all your former kindnesses, for the booke, and especially for the great love and affection you have alwaies shewed to me and, of late tyme, to my poor chil-

dren. But you shall knowe that I am not altogether idle, for I pray (after the directorie of the Church of England), and preach everie Sunday at a place in the mountaines called Cumberworth, two myles beyond Emley, (where I have by the way Lawrence, my Gaius or hoste.) It was proffered me by a gentleman, Mr. Wentworth, of Bretton, whom I never sawe, savinge once, before he sent unto mee. And because it came (as all my ecclesiasticall livings and preferments have done,) without my seekinge and mite, and because it is a lay-donative, and in his power to give or detaine, and the ingag was past in that parish, I tooke it to be pointed out for me by God, as a little Zoar to preserve my life, and did accept it, though it will not reach to forty marke per annum. Besides, I trust to do God service in the exercise of my ministerie amongste that moorish and late rebellious plunderinge people. When I went first to Rochdale, you may remember what the old ostler, at the Baytinge willed me to do, *Take with you (said he) a great box full of tarre, for you shall finde a great companie of scabbed sheepe.* The first Sunday I preached in the forenoone, and read service in the afternoone; and when I perceived by their murmurings that they must have two foddering, I have made good use thereof; and whereas I might have given them two sixpences, they are well pleased if I give them two groates for a shillinge, which I intended to pay them. so childish they are on the right valueinge of God's coyne. I pray you let me heare how my honourable friend Monsieur Rochforth doth and his sonne. The good (but much distressed) ladie I greatlie pittied, yet rejoyced to see her so comfortably cherefull. Tell them, when you write, that I am in health, and cease not to pray for them: and when you meet with my brother Rochester present my service, and to Dr. Smith remember my love, and I shall be glad to heare the continuance of your health and wellfare. My brother John presents his service, and we remember you at Foxhall. God have you in his keepinge. Your ever obliged ffreind,

HENRIE ELPHIN.

Toothill, the 2d of April, 1651.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

IT is possible some of your readers may come into circumstances in which the following information may prove useful, and this induces me to transmit it to you for publication.

Some years ago, residing in a sea-port town, a vessel came in with some men she had taken up at sea in the most destitute condition, having been several days in an open boat without food. They said, they owed their preservation to an expedient suggested by one of their small company, which was to dip their clothes in the sea-water, and put them on wet, repeating the application several times in the twenty-four hours. They found hereby a sensible diminution of both hunger and thirst, and a recruit of strength and spirits. This resource would, doubtless, have soon proved insufficient, but it supported them till they got sight of a vessel; and two or three men, who did not pursue the same method, died. It is probable many may be acquainted with this beneficial effect of sea-water, but that it is not generally thought of or known, appears from the melancholy accounts we often read of persons perishing at sea from hunger, and making no trial of it.

C. L.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

HAVING lately chanced to peruse Milton's Tractate on Education (a work, I am inclined to believe, much less known or esteemed than its merit might entitle it to) my mind was struck with the idea of the advantages which might result from the adoption of such a system as he there recommends for the bringing up of our English youth. So much has of late been said and written on this most weighty and important subject, that for an obscure individual like myself, to undertake and treat of it, might justly be deemed presumptuous, but my wish and endeavour in this application is merely to call the attention of the friends of virtue, religion, and their country, to the system drawn out by a hand, a head, and heart, such as Milton's. There is in all he has said on this subject, a manly and high spirited thirst

after excellence, noble and rational piety, and a zeal for religion and virtue, which make it peculiarly deserving of consideration.

E F. G.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

YOUR correspondent Senex, in your Observer for October, has given us a very pleasing and useful account of his son, in which there is *one* circumstance peculiarly calling for the attention of all to whose care the education of youth is committed; I mean, the too common mode of *extorting* from young children a confession of faults by means of *threats*.

In this case, I speak from *personal* experience.

It was my misfortune to be sent to school at so early a period, that I was, what is called, the *fagg* of the school, and subjected to the tyranny and oppression of the other boys. Whatever was to be done which was wrong, I was made the agent; and, in consequence, whatever was wrong was generally placed to my account. It happened, at that time, that something belonging to the mistress of the school was lost; by what means it was lost is, as far as I know, to this day a secret, but the guilt, as usual, was fastened upon me. I protested my innocence, but in vain. It must be that I had taken it, and, if I did not confess, I must be severely *flogged*. In spite of all threatenings, supported by a consciousness of my integrity, I persisted to deny my knowledge of it. Nothing, however, but a confession of guilt would be accepted. To this, which not only the master and mistress, but the whole of the boys, affirmed to be indispensable, what could a child (little more than six years old,) oppose? The consequence was, I was made to accuse myself, though perfectly innocent, in order to escape punishment. Under the disagreeable stigma of theft I passed my days not only at that school till manhood, but even for many years after; and, I believe, to this very hour (though now upwards of threescore) I am, by the remaining scholars, and others to whom they have reported it, considered as the guilty person.

Now, Mr. Editor, you see what a very hard and unjust case this is. What then I have to urge is, that parents and masters would be very careful of extorting confessions from children through *fear of punishment*. This is, in reality, little, if at all, better than the proceedings of the *inquisition*; and, instead of supporting the cause of truth, is the way to take away from the mind and conscience that firm adherence to it, which is essential to a great and useful character.

VERAX.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SOME doubts having been expressed respecting the claims of Toussaint Louverture to the character which his friends, in this country, have attributed to him, the following extracts, from a work by MARCUS RAINSFORD, Esq. entitled, *St. Domingo; or, an historical, political, and military Sketch of the projected Black Republic*, may serve to place his pretensions in a less dubious point of view.

"Of the character of Toussaint Louverture, it will be expected that I should here say something; and I did endeavour, during the short stay I made at the Cape, to ascertain the leading traits of that character, so far as to be enabled, at a future period, to judge of his views, of their probability of success, and of the motives that actuated them.

"These traits are certainly of the most favourable kind, and are such as must indisputably result from a mind the most elevated, and a disposition the most benign. Casual acts of justice may mark the reign of anarchy itself, and complacency sometimes smooth the brow of the most brutal tyrant; but when the man possessed for a long period of unlimited power, of whose actions no venal journalist is the herald, has been charged in no instance with its abuse; but on the contrary, has preserved a consistent medium of conduct, fortified by sound sense and acute discernment, deviating only to actions of magnanimity

and goodness; he has past that test to which only, as human beings, we can recur in judgment on him, who, with all our own frailties, and without the adventitious aids of those born to rule, holds one of the highest seats in human existence.

"His government does not hitherto appear to have been stained by the influence of any ruling passion; for if a thirst of power had animated him alone, he would long since have ceased to be a leader of insurgents; had avarice swayed him he would have retired early in the contest, with immense riches, to the neighbouring continent; or had a bloody revenge only employed his views, he would scorn to lead those who betrayed him to the altar of the God of mercy instead of the flames; or dismiss those in peace to a sense of their crimes, whom civilized governors would have tortured on the rack.*

"I shall only add, that from every opportunity I enjoyed of observing the character of Toussaint, it appeared to me exemplary; he is reported by his countrymen generous, affable, humane, and neither his habits nor his manners contradict their testimony; to foreigners he is liberal in an equal degree; and above all, RELIGION and MORALITY appear to receive his unfeigned support in precept and in practice.

"In person Toussaint is of a manly appearance, to which his age is about to give a venerable aspect; his countenance is remarkably striking, but full of the most prepossessing suavity. He is a perfect black, and such a description of figure as might be supposed that of the *sable* Mars.

"He was styled the 'General en chef,' and always attended by four aids-de-camp. He receives in public a very general voluntary respect which he appears anxious to return, or rather to prevent, by the most grateful civilities; in short, though his manners have not the graces of the courtier, they possess the most winning affability, and the most exalted benevolence."

* "Among many other instances of the forbearance of Toussaint, in respect to those who had betrayed him, one is recorded to have happened while General Maitland was on the island. Four Frenchmen were retaken, who had deserted him with aggravated treachery. Leaving them in suspense as to their fate, he ordered them to be produced in Church on the following sabbath, and while that part of the service was pronouncing that respects mutual forgiveness, he went with them before the priest, and impressing them with the flagitiousness of their conduct, discharged them without further punishment."

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

AMONG the various pieces circulated at the present momentous crisis under the character of patriotic publications, there is one which, for reasons to be specified, seems to be entitled to peculiar attention. It is a "*Life of Bonaparte, &c. by John Corry, author of a Satirical View of London, &c.*" *Printer, Nicholson, Warner-street, Clerkenwell.* To the latter publication this author claims the commendation of the Anti-jacobin Review.

Now this writer does certainly so far yield to the tide or rather torrent of popular sentiment, as to censure the character and conduct of the First Consul in some particulars, and to admit the necessity of vigorously opposing his hostile attempts against this country. All this would be prudent. But an attentive reader may easily discern that Mr. Corry entertains a sanguine admiration of the Corsican tyrant, and, although he admits, endeavours to palliate his enormities. The suspicion likewise which this biographer has attempted to cast upon the authority, or the veracity of Sir Robert Wilson, ought not to be passed over without a particular indication. After quoting the account which this officer has given of Bonaparte's cruelty at Jaffa, and his confirmation of that account against the remonstrance of Andreossy, Mr. Corry coolly observes, "The reader is left to make his own conclusions" p. 23. To establish this suspicion, seems to be a favourite object of Bonaparte's panegyrist; for, after some circum-

stances mentioned by him, he observes, that they "render the account of the cruelties said to have been practised by him (Bonaparte) at Jaffa very improbable indeed." p. 28. Again at p. 34, he adverts to the "ferocious spirit *said*"—his own insidious italics—"to have been manifested by him at Jaffa, but which yet seems to require confirmation." An evidence of the good will which this writer bears to government, may be drawn from the observation which he makes upon the late peace. "An event," (says he, p. 30.) "so desirable, excited universal joy, and was celebrated with illuminations throughout the united kingdom, and the French Republic; but unhappily for mankind the imprudence or the ambition of statesmen has continually involved them in wars." It is in such ambiguous sentences that the art of the writer principally appears. These are the sentences which are evidently meant to stick in the mind of the reader: the rest seem to be mere words of course—a formality which present circumstances render necessary.

I have considered the duty of exposing so suspicious a publication the more urgent, because, as was the fact in the present instance, tracts of a a patriotic description are often dispersed by the best friends of their country without being read; from a confidence, for which there does not always appear to be sufficient ground, that few, if any, can be found so base as to assume the garb of patriotism in order to abate the ardour and excite the disaffection of their countrymen at the present crisis.

S. C.

FRAGMENTS.

DR MIDDLETON.

THE following passage in one of Bishop Warburton's best sermons—The influence of learning on revelation, undoubtedly refers to the case of Dr. Middleton:—"But if simple vanity be thus strong, how powerful will it prove when joined to warm resentments for neglected merit or injurious suspicions! I wish I could not say, there have been some, even of those consecrated to the service of religion, who have suffered those passions and resentments to carry them into the quarters of the enemy." How humiliating a consideration!

BRYDONE.

Kirwan, in his Geological Essays, p. 105. writes—"M. Dolomieu tells us that Canon Recupero denied having ever expressed any doubt on that head," (the truth of the Mosaic Chronology,) "and could not conceive why a late celebrated traveller should endeavour to render suspicious the orthodoxy of his belief." Has Mr. Brydone, the traveller alluded to, ever cleared himself from this charge?

A MAXIMUM.

In a time of scarcity, the Emperor Commodus had recourse to the natural expedient of a maximum:—The historian observes—*vilitatem proposuit, ex qua majorem penuriam fecit.* Æl. Lamp. Vit. Com. §14. Casaubon, in his note on the place, refers to a similar instance. Am. Marcell. l. xxii.

ITHACIUS.

"I deny not, therefore, but that our antagonists, in these controversies, may peradventure have met with some not unlike to Ithacius,* who mightily bending himself by all means against the heresy of Priscillian, (the hatred of which one evil was all the virtue he had) became so wise in the end, that every man, careful of virtuous conversation, studious of scripture, and given to any abstinence in diet, was set down in his calender of suspected Priscillianists, for whom it would be expedient to prove their soundness of faith by a more licentious and loose behaviour." Hooker's Ep. Ded. to his Ecclesiastical polity.

* Sulp. Sever. Hist. Eccles.

REVIEW OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

CXXII. *A Dissertation on the Mysteries of the Cabiri; or, the great Gods of Phenicia, Samothrace, Egypt, Troas, Greece, Italy, and Crete; being an Attempt to deduce the several Orgies of Isis, Ceres, Mithras, Bacchus, Rhea, Adonis, and Hecate, from an Union of the Rites commemorative of the Deluge with the Adoration of the Host of Heaven.* By GEORGE STANLEY FABER, A M Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo. 1803

THE Mosaic records, grounding their claims to universal belief on a vast mass of positive evidence, require not the doubtful and indirect support of Pagan fables. It is, indeed, of consequence to shew, that those fables furnish no credible evidence on the other side of the question; but this task has often been performed. The neutrality in this respect of the classical legends is, perhaps, no where more ably proved than in the *Origines Sacræ* of Stillingfleet; while that of the Oriential Mythology has been more recently established by Sir W. Jones. Still the researches of those men are extremely valuable, who with due caution explore the recesses of Pagan tradition by the light of sacred history. Such researches supply auxiliary proofs, which, however slight, cannot, in a case so important, be properly called superfluous; they gratify a curiosity, which, within certain bounds, is highly laudable; they diffuse too over the regions of classical story a degree of sanctity, as the march of the Israelites consecrated the wilderness.

The work before us, notwithstanding its modest pretensions, is, in fact, an analysis of ancient mythology. Mr. Faber considers all the various religions of Pagan antiquity as different modifications of the same substance; on this principle he examines their most noted fables and their mysteries; he attempts to explain the names of their mythological characters by deriving them from oriental radicals; and from these premises he deduces the inference that they almost all refer to two events, the universal deluge, and the supposed introduction of Sabianism by Nimrod. In some respects Mr. Faber appears to be a disciple of Mr. Bryant. He discovers, however, no superstitious attachment to the ἀυτος ἐφα of his great master. He is, on many important points, an original thinker: and, whatever becomes of his hypothesis, he must be allowed the praise of no common learning, industry, and ingenuity.

The chief fault of this work, considered as a composition, is *defect of method.* This defect, however, will be treated with indulgence by those who recollect that the subject is too various and extensive to be very patient of arrangement. The style is manly, correct, and perspicuous; rising, indeed, when opportunity is afforded, even to elegance. Many, however, will wish that Mr. Faber had imitated the example of those elder critics of modern times, who discuss classical topics only in a classical language.

Our author, in the very commencement of his dissertation, presents us with a table of forty-five radical words or syllables, on which the etymological part of his system is almost entirely founded: such as, *ain*, a fountain; *ag*, *og*, *ong*, the ocean; *a*, *el*, God or the solar god; *ai*, *aia*, a country, &c. &c. Many of them will be recognised as old acquaintances by the readers of Mr. Bryant. Mr. Faber (Vol. I. p. 25,) though he seems aware of the objections which have been urged against the etymological system of the Bryantian school, yet only notices them cursorily. This, we acknowledge, is, in our opinion, a material defect, as the objections of which we speak apply closely to the work under our review. Of the many authors, English and foreign, who have professed their distrust of Mr. Bryant's etymologies, we have seen but few; and of those few the most distinguished (with the exception, perhaps, of two short passages in Sir William Jones's third and ninth disc. Asiat. Res.) is Richardson, the author of the Persian dictionary.* Many of this writer's remarks are cer-

* In the dissertation prefixed to his dictionary, afterwards published separately.

tainly hypercritical. Still much of what he and others have said on this topic remains unanswered, if not unanswerable. A catalogue of *arkite* radicals is professedly a vocabulary of the language spoken by Noah. But to give a portrait of so remote an ancestor from a survey of the features of a numerous posterity; to distinguish the simple articulations of the primeval language amidst the surrounding din and confusion of tongues; to discover a common measure for the discordant geniuses and analogies of so many dialects; to trace the characteristic marks of those dialects, not only in their general qualities, but in what may be called their vices, their peculiar modes of corrupting primitives, their various fashions of degenerating; how complex a problem! Only one man has yet arisen capable from his acquirements even of attempting to solve it, and he has pronounced the complete solution impossible.† We shall not pretend to analyze the catalogue before us on these profound and extensive principles. Indeed we dare not.

But conceding the *legitimacy* of all Mr. Faber's derivations, we still eye them with jealousy. All his radicals are immediately reducible to monosyllables. The words therefore to be tried by them are first disjointed, large advantage being taken of the convertibility of letters of the same rank and order. Most of them yield at once to this inquest. The few that remain proof are assailed with the additional instruments of *prefixes*, *syncopes*, *metatheses*, and (as the last resort) *anomalous corruptions*. Thus tortured, they speak whatever is prescribed to them. Applying this process of inquisition, we are disposed to think that, throughout all the forty languages used in Tartary, there is *not one word* which we could not trace to the sun, or the ark, or both. Can evidence so flexible be trusted?

With one remark more (it is important though not new) we shall dismiss this subject. We should not be emboldened to build etymologies on slight resemblances, merely because instances *can be found* of derivatives which but slightly resemble their acknowledged radicals. Extravagant hypotheses are not to be indulged because improbable events sometimes occur. It may now be reasonably conjectured that the oriental character *thau*, was the lineal progenitor of the English noun, *amazement*; but were the Greek language lost, which supplies the pedigree of this noun, would not such a a conjecture rival in absurdity the learned reveries of the great Postel?

Having thrown together, for the sake of convenience, our strictures on the etymological grounds of Mr. Faber's system, we come to the system itself. It resolves itself into two main propositions, which we shall consider separately; the identity of the various Pagan deities, and the double allusions to the sun and the ark with which their histories and rites are conceived to have abounded. This division we could almost wish the author had adopted; but possibly it might have clogged the execution of his plan with difficulties which do not discover themselves in the theory.

1. The identity of the Pagan deities, Mr. Faber maintains chiefly in his third and fourth chapters; and in the tenth, he also contends for the identity of the *mysteries* respectively sacred to many of those deities. His opinion is not new; but we know not that it is any where more skilfully supported. We accede to it, although not without some qualifications.

With regard to the identity of the deities themselves, it appears to us that an important distinction should be made. Was it a *mythical* or a *philosophical* identity? In other words, were these divinities all or most of them originally mere personifications of the same individual, or rather, were they the personifications of distinct individuals, formed at various periods, and afterwards identified by those philosophers who wished to graft on the vulgar polytheism the doctrine of the divine unity? We incline to the latter of these opinions, while our learned author seems unreservedly to have embraced the former. But surely to imagine that the invention of idolaters was for ages active in the mere fabrication of

† Sir W. Jones's ninth disc. Asiat. Res.

new names, is to underrate greatly the prolific powers of fancy impregnated by superstition. If, during the flourishing times of the Roman empire, not only men of distinction were enrolled in the Olympic calendar, but even a Samaritan sorcerer was honoured with an altar in Rome,* what may not be expected from the credulity of a barbarous age? Indeed, in point of fact, no fabulist has ever asserted the identity (strictly speaking) of the heathen gods. From fabulists nothing more can be collected than that the innumerable legends of those gods were, as might have been expected, greatly involved and inextricably confounded together. Nothing more than this can be collected from that passage of Diodorus, in which Mr. Faber (Vol. I. p. 160) has discovered that Pan was the same as Osiris, Serapis, Pluto, &c. For distinct avowals of the pantheistic doctrine we must resort, as Mr. Faber generally does, not to fabulists but to philosophers; to the writings of Platonists or the Orphic verses of the Pythagoreans.

We have said, that this subsequent adaptation of deities to each other arose from the timidity which induced the philosophers to compromise with the polytheism, popular among their countrymen. It arose in part, also, from another and a more curious cause. Under the emperors, the vast conflux of foreigners in Rome brought into close contact almost all the modifications of idolatry in the world. Experience proves, that all religions, which are not adjusted to a divine, and therefore an inflexible standard, no sooner approach each other than they discover a tendency to mutual accommodation and resemblance. Nor is it altogether a preposterous conjecture of Verstegan, that the resemblance discoverable between the gothic and the classical fables is to be dated from the period when the Goths possessed themselves of the Roman altars. At any rate we cannot wonder that in imperial Rome, the resort of all nations, a *pantheistic taste* (if we may so express it) should diffuse itself, and such we believe to have been the case. This taste some of the emperors at once imbibed and promoted, from a desire, natural to sovereigns, of binding together their dominions by the tie of a common religion. A letter of Adrian, preserved by Vopiscus, is on this subject an authentic and a very interesting document.†

In chap. 4, our author treats of the *polyonomy of the sun*, which was, in fact, only a particular edition of the pantheistic creed, and probably the edition most current under the Roman emperors. This was a refinement on the old star-worship. It is remarkable, that towards the decline of the empire, Sabianism, which is usually regarded as the religion of savages, became somewhat fashionable among philosophers. This distinction is probably acquired from its close connection with the study of Chaldean magic, to which many of those philosophers were‡ secretly devoted. We do not recollect any author before these times, who maintains the opinion, that the fabulous deities, all or most of them, were originally mere presonifications of the sun. Scattered hints of such an opinion are to be traced in Adrian's letter above-cited, in the works of the Philostrati and other Platonists; it is powerfully defended by the learning of Macrobius, who builds it on that confusion of the ancient fables we have already noticed; but its most eloquent, most zealous, and (Macrobius excepted) most copious advocate is the emperor Julian.§ It seems, at all events, probable that this opinion, whether new or old, became, about this time, more general than before; for certain it is that Sabianism, presuming on the sanction it had received

* Justin. Mart. Apol. i. c. xxxiv. 73. The accuracy of Justin's information here has been hotly disputed. After examining the arguments on both sides, we give our humble verdict decidedly in his favour.

† "Hunc (Serapin) Christiani, hunc Judæi, hunc omnes venerantur et gentes." Adr. epist. apud Vopisc. in Sat. c. viii. Origen rejects with horror this doctrine. Contr. Celsum, lib. v.

‡ We say *secretly*; that they were not fond of avowing it appears from Apul. Apolog. and Philostrat. Vit. Soph. 22. et alibi passim.

§ Vid. Jul. orat. 4 and 5, especially the hymn to the sun.

from Plato and Pythagoras, was sensibly gaining ground, and had infected even the *Platonising* Christians.*

The identity of the ancient *mysteries* our author attempts to prove in chap. 10. This is an important subject; for the mystic caverns of the ancients were the most faithful repositories of their primeval mythology. The ritual part of a religious establishment is generally the part least liable to capricious fluctuations; because it takes a strong hold of the senses, and is guarded by the stated observance of forms. Hence it is that men often change the *objects* without changing the *modes* of their worship. But this is doubly true of the mysteries which were instituted to preserve certain profound secrets under the cover of symbolical ceremonies; and in which, if the symbol had been corrupted, the secret would have been in danger of perishing.

Mr. Faber strongly contends that the various mystic characters, Cabiri, Curetes, and a host besides, were the same beings under different names, and appeals to a cloud of authorities in support of his opinion. These authorities (we observe as before) do not necessarily prove more than an incidental confusion, partly of deities with their respective priests, partly of deities with each other. So the learned Abbé Banier (among others) has decided, with most of these authorities before his eyes, and in a case where the spirit of system could bias him neither way. The Abbé contends that the Cabiri were properly the gods, though too often confounded with the Corybantes or priests. Vossius seems to have entertained nearly the same idea, although Banier has too hastily attributed to that great man the contrary opinion.†

But whatever becomes of the mystagogues, we acknowledge the principal mysteries themselves to have been essentially the same. In other words, they had common rites (which Mr. Faber very well enumerates) of so singular a cast that no credulity can suppose the coincidence casual. They are, indeed, distinguished from each other by superficial differences; but their interior recesses exhibit the same terrific machinery.

We have now mentioned the general qualifications with which we accede to our author's opinion of the identity of the Pagan religions. Our limits will not allow of our stating minuter and less important exceptions. Mr. Faber's conjectures frequently proceed to very bold lengths. We would cite as an instance, his suspicion that the brave knights of Arthur's round table were no other than the Cabiri.

II. We are now to consider the proposition, that the religion of the ancients was almost universally pure. Sabianism grafted on rites commemorative of the deluge. This proposition is, perhaps, too generally expressed; but if properly qualified, it will not of itself appear improbable to those who confide in the authority of the Mosaic writings. Departed worthies were often deified in ancient times, and were as often supposed to animate some of the heavenly bodies. What we know, therefore, to be true of many less distinguished personages, will not seem incredible when related of the Noachidæ.

But to an infidel Mr. Faber's hypothesis will not seem equally plausible; because its concurrence with the Mosaic history will no longer operate as presumptive evidence in its favour. Still less then can it be hoped, though it may not be impossible, that by such an hypothesis the infidel will be in any degree convinced of the truth of the Mosaic history. This hint we throw out, because we believe and regret that many excellent men have attached too much weight to mythological speculations, as supplying proofs of the authenticity of the Jewish scriptures. Few sceptics will believe in the Bible, because it furnishes the best key to ancient mythology. He who has rejected the Pentateuch, notwithstanding the *positive* evidence of its divine origin, will seldom receive it because it best explains that which, after all, is too incoherent to admit of a complete explana-

* Vid. Clem. Alex. Proph. Ecl. circa finem.

† Banier Myth. liv. vii. ch. viii. As to Vossius, compare Idolol. lib. ii. c. liii. with lib. ii. c. lvii. See also here that noted passage in Varr. de Ling. Lat. lib. iv. "Neque, ut vulgus putat, hi Samothraces Dii, qui Castor et Pollux, &c."

tion. If we can look upon the sun without believing him to exist, we shall hardly be convinced of his existence by beholding his broken image in the stream.

In examining our author's interpretations of ancient fables, we must confine ourselves to a few leading points, premising that, in one or two instances, Mr. Faber pays too much respect to books, which he acknowledges to be spurious. We do not here allude to Orpheus, Horapollo, Homer's hymns, or the various oracular verses, all of which have now become valuable from their antiquity. We allude to the Pseudo-Cato and Pseudo-Berosus of Annius, and to the Etruscan fragments of Inghiranius. These gross forgeries were unworthy of being cited, and even of being mentioned.

I. The inquiry into the true history of the Cabiri involves another question too interesting to be overlooked. Cudworth and many other eminent men have imagined, that in the various *triads* of Pagan mythology (as for example the Cabiric triad) a remote allusion may be discovered to the doctrine of a Tri-une God. Mr. Bryant contends, that the allusion is merely to the three sons of Noah. These two opinions are not inconsistent with each other. It is conceivable, that when an apostate world began to worship "the creature more than the creator," the three postdiluvian fathers of mankind might, by a shocking refinement of impiety, be confounded with the adorable trinity. Mr. Faber, however, while he embraces Mr. Bryants opinion, strongly opposes that of Cudworth. His principal objections seem to be, that "the number of the Cabiri is by no means uniform;" and that "if Brahma, Vishnou, and Seeva, relate to the Trinity, it will not be easy to assign a reason why they should be represented as springing from a fourth yet superior God." Vol. I. p. 6 and 316.

These objections do not appear very conclusive. How, on this principle, will Mr. Faber reconcile with his own hypothesis the assertion of the scholiast on Apollonius,* that the Idæ Dactyli (i. e. according to Mr. Faber, the Cabiri) were in number *eleven?* Nor is it difficult to conceive that the Indian triad, although a triad of derivative and dependent deities, should relate to the great but corrupted doctrine of the Trinity. If this doctrine be corrupted, nothing is more likely than that it should be corrupted in this particular manner. Precisely in this manner did Jamblichus and Proclus† corrupt the Platonic doctrine of the Trinity, by feigning a fourth hypostasis, who was the πηγη της θεοτητος, and by consequence superior to the rest.

Still these remarks (we acknowledge) do not decide the difficult question, whether the explanation of the ancient triads, which our author adopts, or that which he opposes, be best supported by facts. That we may approximate to such a decision, we shall just observe, that two things have in our judgment been indisputably proved. First, it seems indisputable, that Noah and his family were deified; for we recognise them in Saturn and his three sons: on the other side, it seems to us almost as little disputable, that the Platonic tenet of a trinity was founded, not on the history of the Noetic triad, but on some depraved tradition of the real Tri-une God. Of this proposition an indirect proof may be conveyed in the form of a question. It is conceivable, that by any refinement on the Noetic triad, Plato should so nearly approach the true doctrine of the trinity, as not only to designate, in a confused manner, the three persons by their scriptural attributes, but generally to place them in their proper and scriptural order? It is true, Mr. Bryant insists much on the resemblance between the words νους and Noah. We were also, for a moment, staggered by finding in Phurnutus this singular passage, Ἀποταν παλαιων Ἰαπετος ὠνομασθη ὁ λογος, which Mr. Bryant might, perhaps, translate, "Japhet was by the ancients named the *Logos*."‡ The presumptions, however, that can be raised on such grounds as these are extremely slight.

But since Plato held (in a corrupted state indeed) the doctrine of the trinity, and since he confessedly derived his

* Argonaut. lib. i. ver. 1129.

† Cudw. Int. Syst. book i. ch. iv.

‡ Phurn. de Nat. Deor. 17.

religious dogmas from traditional information, does it not follow that the doctrine of the trinity was known to the elder Pagans, who must have transmitted that information? This would be a fair inference, were it not possible that Plato may have drawn some of his doctrines from Jewish* rather than Pagan sources. On this point the argument seems to hinge, and on this we have not been able to form a decisive judgment. But in the meanwhile we lean to the opinion, that the elder Pagans, while they deified the three sons of Noah, had yet really some imperfect knowledge of the Divine Trinity, and that, possibly, on this abused doctrine they impiously grafted the worship of the Noetic triad.

We cannot help adding, that the subject we have been considering should be handled with caution. Some authors have, with the best intentions, laboured to prove the doctrine of the trinity from universal consent. Such attempts are extremely unsafe; though the reception of a similar doctrine by Plato and other philosophers may be judiciously urged to repel objections *a priori* founded on its incomprehensibility. Others, with far different motives, have contended, that the christian trinity was borrowed from Plato; but the doctrine is, at least, as clearly implied in the Old Testament† as in Plato. Indeed to distinguish in this case the original from the copy, it is only necessary to contemplate the manner in which this great doctrine is set forth in the sacred writings. Here only is it addressed to the heart rather than to the fancy, and stated with a grave simplicity worthy of the subject. Here only is it kept equally free, on the one hand, from metaphysical subtleties, and from a tendency to tritheism on the other.

We now come to the question, Who were the Cabiri? a question which has perplexed the greatest antiquarians for more than two thousand years, and on which, consequently, it is much easier to quote hard Greek and Latin than to arrive at any definite conclusion. Mr. Faber, in his second chapter, analyzes the genealogy of these mysterious beings given in Sanchoniatho's history; but without intimating that the genuineness of this history has been warmly disputed. We do not much blame this omission; for whoever was the original compiler of these Phenician legends, and wherever the editor Philo found them, surely his own candid confession, that they had been in the course of time much adulterated,‡ and the *antique* complexion of the legends themselves, should protect him from the charge of having forged them. The learned Bishop Cumberland was the first who endeavoured systematically to adapt the whole of the Phenician narrative to the narrative of Moses. Mr. Faber, with the same purpose, has adopted a system very different from that of Cumberland; and ends with conjecturing the Cabiri to be the family of Noah. We can truly say, that our author's account of the Cabiri has, at least, the merit of being very plausible, where nothing is certain. But it is impossible fully to repose on the authority of Sanchoniatho, after he has been convicted of confounding the families of Cain and Seth, multiplying Noah into ten different persons, and substituting for plain narrative a confused mass of fact, fiction, and allegory.

In the course of this inquiry, Mr. Faber is led to develop his ideas on the Pagan deities in general. According to him, the gods are for the most part mixed personifications of the sun and Noah; and the goddesses of the moon and the ark. But Juno is properly Noah's dove; and Minerva represents the divine wisdom preserving the ark during the deluge.

Although we cannot believe that the names of the ancient gods in general were originally mere titles of Noah, we admit that frequent allusions to that patriarch are discoverable in the fables related of those gods, and particularly of Saturn. We know, indeed, that the history of the world has been often called a series of repetitions; and that

* See this ably maintained by the learned Theophilus Gale. Court of Gentiles, Part II. lib. iii.

† This has been often shown; no where perhaps, better, than in Maurice's Ind. Antiq. Vol. IV. But some parts are too fanciful.

‡ Euseb. Præp. Ev. lib. i. c. ix.

where but a few facts are recorded, a resemblance between any two characters may easily be fancied. Our conviction, however, that Saturn was Noah, is not founded on a slight resemblance, nor, indeed, exclusively on any resemblance at all: but it is founded, first, on the very high previous probability that Noah should be discovered *somewhere* among the deified mortals of antiquity; and then, on the certainty that the tales related of Saturn are precisely such as would probably be related of Noah by a dark and idolatrous world. On the supposed identity of the Pagan gods with the sun, we have only to repeat that it was perhaps a confusion rather than an identity. Some, indeed, of these gods have been so long and so completely adapted (if we may so speak) to the heavenly bodies, that not to *question*, but even to *prove*, their identity would be thought absurd. Who would now give a long and formal demonstration that Apollo was the sun? Yet this was thought necessary, not only by the Vossii and the Gales, but also by an ancient author, Heraclides Ponticus,* and at a still earlier period by that prince of fabulists Apollodorus. Still, however, we think it probable, that Noah was sometimes worshipped in conjunction with the sun. Bacchus, perhaps, affords one instance of this union.

The limitations already laid down must be extended to the supposed identity of the goddesses with the moon. Whether or not they also represented the ark, shall be afterwards considered. The conjecture that Noah's dove was deified under the name of Juno (though in itself plausible) rests on a single prop, the derivation of Juno from יונה, *a dove*. We cannot recollect one fable in which Juno has any connexion with doves; and if it be asked whether the dove was sacred to Juno, it will be found that this honour was refused to the dove and granted to *the crow*. In the same manner we must remark, that Minerva may possibly represent the divine wisdom guarding the ark; but that the proofs here are scanty. In Vol. I. p. 167, five Minervas are mentioned; but it is intimated that they were, in fact, the same mythological character. But to infer an identity of persons from an identity of names would prove a very fallacious rule in other cases; apply it, for example, to classical authors, taking the first that offer themselves, the two writers mentioned a few lines above. Of the name of Heraclides, the celebrated editor Thomas Gale reckons *thirteen authors*; but Fabricius (in his Bibliotheca Græca) has enumerated more than *twenty*. Of Apollodori there were certainly not fewer than *thirty-two*. To give a still more apposite instance, do we not know that Rome deified nearly *forty* persons with the title of Cæsar?

2. We are disposed to believe with Mr. Faber, that the principal *mysteries* were partly commemorative of the deluge. But we cannot, therefore, see why, on his own principles, he resists Mr. Maurice's idea that they abounded with astronomical allusions: from the union of these two opinions a very fair hypothesis might be formed. Of all others this hypothesis would best explain what is known of the ancient cavern-worship. Nothing, indeed, is more probable than that the deluge should have been solemnly commemorated; and that, if commemorated at all, it should have been commemorated universally. We do not feel entirely convinced, that the *magna mater* of the mysteries represented the ark. The Hindoo fable, given in Vol. I. p. 87, and the passage quoted from Simplicius in p. 142, are obviously capable of a very different interpretation. Would it not be as easy to fancy that the ark was personified in the god or hero of the mysteries himself? We might truly urge, that some of the oldest names of ships were masculine, and, besides many presumptions drawn from fables, might insist much on the very ancient metaphysical idea expressed in the Orphic verse:

——Ζεὺς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται.

It seems evident to us, that the horrid rites discussed in Vol. I. p. 364, were primarily founded on the incident recorded in Genesis ch. ix. v. 22, although by a subsequent refinement they might be considered as allusive to the ark;

* Vide Heracl. Pont. Allegor. prope initium.

and finally to the creative powers of nature. Our author's discussion on this disagreeable theme is one of the most ingenious parts of his work. Of Mr. Knight's book he speaks with proper abhorrence.

3. Chap. 7. That the word *hippus* should signify both a *horse* and a *ship*, proves, perhaps, nothing but the poverty of language. We are not satisfied that horses were regarded as symbols of Noah and the ark: it would not be much more difficult to prove this proposition of any other animal. Let us instance, in a very unpromising one, the μυς, a *rat* or *mouse*; as there was a fish ἱππος, so there was a fish μυς. The Egyptians worshipped a mouse, whose origin was by a mysterious tradition attributed to the union of a mouse and a fish. But the mystery vanishes, when we learn that this species was called by the two names *Mus Araneus* and *My-gale*, both signifying *the mouse-ark*. Similar appellations are ἀρκτομυς and *sorex (s'orech.)* On this hypothesis we can explain two other words, hitherto thought inexplicable: long ships (such as the Argo or ארכה) were called μυοπαρων, *my-op-aron*, the *ophi-murine-ark*; and the famous diluvian cup of Bacchus (see Mr. Faber's, Vol. II. p. 56,) was named μυοβαρβον, *myo-bar-bon*, the *bovi-murine-boat*. Again, the μυς was called ζωον μαντικωτατον, and was sacred to Apollo. As Neptune was surnamed *Hippius*, so Apollo the Titan or diluvian was surnamed *Smintheus*, literally *the rat*, and μυοκτονος, i. e. *my-octo-Mus*, in allusion to the famous Ogdoad. Indeed all the Titans or diluvians were called *mice*; and accordingly a most curious passage in Ælian* declares, that the *Titan war* was an insurrection of *mice*. But we are told that the Titans, whom the flood destroyed, are confounded with those whom it spared. Hence, while the diluvian *magna mater* was called μυσια, or the *mouse*, yet she is fabled during the insurrection of the Titan mice to have assumed the shape of a *cat*; doubtless for the purpose of alarming those *fraterculi gigantum*.

After all it is certainly strange that Neptune, a maritime deity, should have been invested with equestrian insignia. But is this difficulty removed by the intervention of the ark? The question is, why should a horse be the symbol of a boat?

The latter part of this chapter is more satisfactory. That the old fable of Hercules sailing in a cup referred to the deluge, seems to us very probable; and that the names of the ancient cups were analogous to those of the ancient boats, Mr. Faber proves clearly. To the derivation of these various names from a common source some may object that the ארכה, or *long ship*, originally and essentially differed in shape† from the *gauli*, *cymbæ*, and other vessels, whether cups or boats, which were broad or round. This objection does not touch the fabulous δεπας of Hercules, the precise form of which (as Bentley proves in his Dissertation on Phalaris) was never ascertained by the ancients.

4. In the eighth chapter are some general reasonings, which appear exceptionable. Our author, treating the story of the Argonautic expedition as a mere fiction, concludes that the Trojan war, as related by the Greeks, must be equally fictitious, because all the heroes employed in that war were the sons of the Argonauts or of their cotemporaries. He admits, indeed, that there may have been *some* Trojan war; but he totally disbelieves *the* Trojan war. Aware, however, that speculations of this nature may be conceived to strike at the certainty of all history, he says,

"Where the age of fable ceases, that of real narrative commences; and it requires no very great powers of discrimination to draw the line between them. Some part of history may, indeed, be uncertain, as is the case perhaps with several of the details of Herodotus, who, in many instances, approaches very nearly to the era of fiction; but it surely does not follow, that we should impeach the veracity of Thucydides, Livy, or Tacitus, because we cannot believe the legends of Homer, Apollodorus, Tzetzes, or Apollonius." Vol. II. p. 179.

Now we readily admit that the legends of Tzetzes are very distinguishable from the facts of Thucydides; but yet nothing is more difficult than to draw the exact line between history

* Æl. hist. lib. xii. c. v.

† Gyrald. de Navig. 13. Bochart. Geog. Sacr. lib. ii. c. xi.

and fable. The cloud may be easily distinguished from the column; but who can determine the point where the column loses itself in the cloud? To separate truth from fiction demands a delicate hand; because while fiction is proscribed, truth may suffer. We may demolish the building itself, while we too rudely tear away the moss and ivy that have overgrown its walls.

But here we have really conceded too much to our learned author. For if the principle be just on which he argues against the reality of the Trojan war, then the darkest ages of fable cannot be distinguished from the most luminous periods of history. If a fabulous father must necessarily have a fabulous son, then the grandson too must in his turn be fabulous; nor do we see when this family of phantoms is to become extinct. Leonidas is by this rule as much the creature of fancy as his ancestor Hercules.

Without, therefore, pretending to decide where the history of Greece really begins, we not only still cling to our early belief of the Trojan war, but are even disposed to maintain the reality of something like the Argonautic expedition. The gravest authors mention these two national undertakings as among the first indications in Greece of approaching civilization; and if these and similar accounts be only spurious editions of older and foreign fables, then this absurdity follows, that of the many events which must have occurred in Greece during some centuries immediately preceding the Homeric age, Greece though then becoming a lettered country, has not preserved any history, and hardly the shadow of a tradition. Having said thus much, we willingly admit that the history of the Argonauts was mixed with older fables; that the constellation of the Argo was originally the *baris* of Osiris, and therefore probably the ark; and that the ship Argo herself very possibly derived her name from the same primeval source.

5. In the ninth chapter, the old fable of the Titans and their overthrow, is, with great felicity, conjectured to have been a mutilated account of the deluge; blended, however, with allusions both to the ante-diluvian Nephelim and to the builders of the tower of Babel. Most of the remarks in this chapter seem to us at once ingenious and just.

We must here close our strictures on Mr. Faber's very able and learned work. We can, on the whole, truly say, that *the Dissertation on the Mysteries of the Cabiri* is well adapted to furnish both pleasure and instruction. It bespeaks a cultivated and candid mind, stored with valuable information, and (what is still superior praise) deeply imbued with genuine and unaffected piety. By those who read and admire Mr. Bryant it will be considered as no unworthy companion to the "Analysis of Ancient Mythology." It yields, indeed, to that admirable work (and what wonder?) in rich variety of learning and in profusion of ingenious conjecture; but then it is constructed on a simpler plan, and therefore forms a more compact and beautiful whole.

CXXIII. *Milner's History of the Church of Christ.*

(Continued from p. 626)

We are now arrived at Mr. Milner's account of the fourteenth century, which contains three chapters with the following titles—1. The general State of the Church in this Century.—2. Thomas Bradwardine.—3. John Wickliffe.

In perusing the first chapter, we confess that we have been disappointed: we could have wished that our historian had not passed over, in so cursory a manner, the great western schism which took place in this century, and which involved consequences so important to the church of Christ. We wish that it had been consistent with Mr. Milner's plan to give a more copious account of the origin and progress of Lollardism, and of various other sects that sprung up in the same period, whose history might have furnished room for seasonable reflections. This indeed is necessary in order to a luminous view of the ecclesiastical history of the fourteenth century, and we should be glad if the learned editor would supply the defect in a future edition. The chapter now under our review is little more than an imperfect sketch, interspersed with fragments of

biography, from which we present our readers with the following pleasing extract.

"The accounts of individuals in this century, who truly feared God and wrought righteousness, are extremely rare. One person I find, on the continent, who seems not unworthy of a place in these memoirs, I mean Eleazar Count of Arian, in Naples, born in 1295: at the age of twenty-three he succeeded to his father's estate. The regulations of his household are very remarkable, some of which are as follows:

"I cannot allow any blasphemy in my house, nor any thing in word or deed which offends the laws of decorum.

"Let the ladies spend the morning in reading and prayer, the afternoon at some work.

"Dice and all games of hazard are prohibited.

"Let all persons in my house divert themselves at proper times, but never in a sinful manner.

"Let there be constant peace in my family, otherwise two armies are formed under my roof, and the master is devoured by them both.

"If any difference arise, let not the sun go down upon your wrath.

"We must bear something, if we have to live among mankind. Such is our frailty, we are scarcely in tune with ourselves a whole day, and if a melancholy humour come on us, we know not well what we would have.

"Not to forbear and not to forgive is diabolical; to love enemies and to do good for evil is the mark of the children of God.

"Every evening all my family shall be assembled at a godly conference, in which they shall hear something of God and salvation. Let none be absent on pretence of attending to my affairs. I have no affairs so interesting to me as the salvation of my domestics.

"I seriously forbid all injustice which may cloak itself under colour of serving me.

"If I feel an impatience under affront," said he on one occasion, "I look at Christ. Can any thing which I suffer, be like to that which he endured for me?

"We are told that the conduct of this excellent young nobleman was perfectly consistent with these maxims; and that he died in the twenty-eighth year of his age." (pp. 71, 72.)

The second chapter is dedicated to our countryman Thomas Bradwardine, who appears to have been one of the profoundest scholars of his age, as well as a truly pious man. Mr. Milner gives some specimens of his devotional taste, which breathe the spirit of Thomas à Kempis. Bradwardine was confessor to King Edward the Third, and was elevated to the see of Canterbury, but he died a few weeks after his consecration. He wrote a great work against Pelagianism, entitled *Causa Dei*, from which some extracts are given that prove his sentiments to have been in unison with the compilers of the thirty nine articles, on various important points of theology. The talents of this great and good man, however, seem to have been unprofitably applied; for of his bulky volume against the Pelagians, on which the most lavish encomiums are bestowed, our historian remarks, that "it is too metaphysical for the perusal of ordinary readers, nor would it answer any valuable purpose to present the reader with a regular abridgment of its contents."

Bradwardine was called, by way of eminence, the *Profound*; but his profundity must have been of little avail in diffusing the light of the Gospel among his countrymen, since, to use the words of Mr. Milner, "He possessed not the useful qualification of writing in a plain scriptural manner, and of making use of arguments equally capable of impressing all ranks of men."

The following observation on the wretched state of didactic theology in the fourteenth century, should fill our hearts with gratitude for the blessed fruits of the Protestant Reformation.

"The popular talent of perspicuously displaying divine truths, and of happily illustrating them by proofs drawn from scripture and experience, was, at that time, hardly known in Christendom." (p. 88.)

The hero of the third chapter is the renowned John Wickliffe, who has been called, with great truth, the morning star of the reformation; and to whom, notwithstanding all his defects, the church of Christ, in our opinion, is under more extensive obligations than to any other individual, who can be named for many centuries preceding the time of Luther.

The character of this extraordinary man is investigated by Mr. Milner at full length, and we may add with great impartiality and candour; although we cannot compliment our author either on

felicity of arrangement, or perspicuity of style. He seems to have thrown into this chapter, as into a common-place book, without method or connection, all the facts which he had been able to collect, with a view to elucidate the real sentiments and character of our illustrious countrymen. From these we shall select such particulars as are most likely to interest our readers.

The zeal of Wickliffe appears to have been roused, in the first instance, by the vices and irregularities of the mendicant orders, who, at that time, were the great supporters of the Papal usurpations; and he experienced the effects of their resentment in being deprived of the wardenship of Canterbury Hall at Oxford, which event took place in 1367. His subsequent opposition to the doctrines and practices of the hierarchy has been attributed by some to a vindictive and factious temper. But although Mr. Milner does not pretend to exculpate him from the charge of resenting the great injustice he had experienced from the Monks, yet he says, "There want not evidences, that in Wickliffe a better spirit was the ground of his opposition to the fashionable abuses;" and we have great pleasure in transcribing the following declaration, which Wickliffe himself published in the face of the world.

"Let God be my witness, that I principally intend the honour of God and the good of the church, from a spirit of veneration to the divine word, and of obedience to the law of Christ. But if with that intention, a sinister view of vain glory, of secular gain, or of vindictive malice, hath crept in unknown to myself, I sincerely grieve on the account, and, by the grace of God, will guard against it."

To which we subjoin the pointed interrogation of one of his biographers:

"What could be spoken more ingenuously, soberly, or christianly?"

The grand doctrinal corruption, against which he entered his earliest and warmest protest, was idolatry; particularly in regard to the worship of the consecrated host. At the same time he inveighed against the Pope's spiritual supremacy, as an invasion of the rights of the Christian Church; called in question the divine right of tithes; and opposed, with a truly patriotic spirit, the temporal encroachments of the Popedom in England. In consequence of these bold proceedings, a storm was raised against him, as might naturally be expected: and the daring innovator was cited, in 1377, to appear before a court of papal delegates at St. Paul's in London. The storm was diverted at that time by the patronage of two powerful friends, the Duke of Lancaster and the Lord Marshal of England, who appeared with him before the delegates; but their treatment of the court was so very unbecoming and disorderly as to reflect no great credit upon their cause; and Mr. Milner is concerned at not being able to produce any evidence, that Wickliffe himself protested against their violent proceedings. He was cited, not long after, to appear before the delegates at Lambeth, when several of his own positions, or conclusions as they are termed, were exhibited against him, which he explained with such equivocation and sophistry, as plainly shew that he had not then attained the spirit of martyrdom; and it must be owned that he displayed too much of the same temporizing conduct in the proceedings which were afterwards instituted against him at Oxford.

Our historian observes, p. 106, that "the distinguishing tenet of Wickliffe in religion was, undoubtedly, the election of grace; and that he called the Church* an assembly of predestinated persons." On this observation we have the following remark in the appendix: "On some occasions, he speaks in such strong terms on this subject, that he has been understood to lean even to the doctrines of absolute necessity and fatalism;" to which remark, we beg leave to subjoin, that, on a review of the whole evidence upon this head, we are of opinion the reformer more than leans to those dangerous doctrines.

"I can only meet the excellent man half

* We are told, that in another place he defines the Church to be the congregation of just men, for whom Christ shed his blood. The best definition of the Church which we have met with in any human composition, is given in the nineteenth article of the Church of England.

way," (says Mr. Toplady, as quoted in Middleton's Biographia Evangelica.) "I agree with him as to the necessity of events; but I cannot, as he evidently did, suppose God himself to be a *necessary agent*, in the utmost sense of the term. That God acts in the most exact conformity to his own decrees, is a truth which scripture asserts again and again; but that God was absolutely free in decreeing, is no less asserted by the inspired writers, who, with one voice, declare the father's predestination and subsequent disposal of all things, to be entirely founded, not on any antecedent necessity, but on the single sovereign pleasure of his own will."

We are informed, that in the library of York Cathedral is preserved an apology for Wickliffe, written by Dr. James, the first keeper of the public library at Oxford, from which we are favoured with various extracts to prove that our reformer's sentiments, on the subject of *justification*, are conformable to the doctrine of the present Church of England. We are convinced, from the perusal of these extracts, that the celebrated Melancthon was too hasty in pronouncing, that Wickliffe "neither understood nor believed the righteousness of faith:" although we cordially agree with Melancthon in condemning the sophistry with which he argues on some points, and his wild notions respecting ecclesiastical property: for he maintained, that the clergy ought to be in a state of eleemosynary dependence on the people; on which extravagant opinion Mr. Milner offers the following candid, just, and seasonable reflections.

"An honest indignation, on account of the enormities and immense revenues of the clergy in his day, led this extraordinary genius to use rash and indefensible expressions, which his own practice, in regard to his benefice at Lutterworth, seemed to contradict: hence I am led to conclude, that this good man intended not absolutely, on this subject, the whole of what he uttered in his warmth. Hath the Lord ordained that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel, (1 Cor. ix. 14); and have pastors after all no right to be maintained by their people? Doubtless they have not, if it be true, that all which they receive is properly to be called alms. Or ought they, whose business it is to instruct their flocks in their most important and eternal concerns, to be placed in situations not really differing from those of beggars? In such a view, the whole body of the clergy might justly be denominated *mendicants*, the very order of men against which Wickliffe so copiously inveighed. This whole sentiment of reducing the tithes and offerings conferred on the clergy to alms, however it may flatter the pride and avarice and profaneness of many of the laity in our days, appears, on every account, perfectly indefensible. The very nature of alms supposes that the objects of them are recommended to our regard, not by the services which they perform, but by the distresses which they endure. Is this the proper light in which we should view the character of a Christian pastor; or, can this be called in any degree a just representation of the functions of a teacher of the Gospel? And, lastly, are spiritual services of so little estimation, as to claim no reward from those on whom they are conferred?"

Wickliffe is entitled to our veneration and gratitude for the zeal with which he laboured to lay the grand foundation of protestantism; namely, *the sufficiency of the holy scriptures for salvation*, and the right of all Christian men to have access to the oracles of God. The following extracts, given by Mr. Milner upon this head, from Wickliffe's own writings, are truly admirable.

"Scripture is the faith of the Church, and the more it is known in an orthodox sense the better; therefore, as secular men ought to know the faith, the divine word is to be taught them in whatever language is best known to them. The truth of the faith is clearer and more exact in the scripture than the priests know how to express it; and if one may say so, there are many prelates who are ignorant of scripture, and others who conceal things contained in it. It seems useful, therefore, that the faithful should themselves search and discover the sense of the faith, by having the scriptures in a language which they know and understand. Christ and his apostles converted men by making known to them the scriptures, in that language which was familiar to them. Why then ought no the modern disciples of Christ to collec fragments from the loaf, and, as they did clearly open the scriptures to the people that they may know them? The apostle teaches, that we must all stand before the judgment seat of Christ, and be answerable for all the goods entrusted to us: it is necessary, therefore, the faithful should know these good and the use of them, that they may give proper answer; for the answer by a prel or an attorney will not then avail, but e one must answer in his own person."

Wickliffe was not content with t powerfully pleading the right of people to read the scriptures, b

translated the Bible into English, an invaluable present to his countrymen, of which we, their posterity, now reap the benefit; and upon this account he is entitled to a distinguished place in the temple of fame, among the illustrious reformers of the Christian Church.

Mr. Milner having collected the various testimonies of Popish and Protestant writers, together with that of the sceptical Hume, respecting the opinions and conduct of Wickliffe, intermingled with extracts from his writings and many judicious reflections by himself, thus ably and impartially sums up the evidence, incorporating with it his own conclusions.

"The bigotted Papist usually loses his patience in describing the principles and conduct of Wickliffe. The unbeliever, in treating the same subject, sees no difficulties but what are easily explained on the supposition of enthusiasm, hypocrisy, pride of the human heart, or love of popularity. Moderate divines, even of the Roman Catholic persuasion, support Wickliffe to a certain point, particularly in his attack of the abuses which interfered with their own interests and privileges. Protestant divines may be expected to defend the reformer much further; and, in fact, those Protestants, who are usually denominated low churchmen, have shewn themselves disposed to transmit his memory to posterity with the most exalted encomiums. His manly freedom in inquiring after truth, and his great boldness in defending it, and in encountering dangers, please them so much, that they become almost blind to the faults, errors, and defects of their favourite ecclesiastic. Lastly, it deserves also to be remembered, that those who are most godly and practical in their conversation, and whose lives are most devoted to promote the salvation of the souls of men; who are the least worldly-minded, and meddle the least with political discussions and controversies; such persons, with regret, are compelled to withhold an unlimited approbation of Wickliffe. They gratefully praise God for having raised up a champion for the faith of the Gospel in the most perilous times, and when very much needed. They rejoice in finding evidence, that this celebrated champion did belong to the true Church of Christ. They charitably hope and believe, that he said and did many things, which, had they been recorded, might, perhaps, have made it still clearer that he belonged to the most distinguished part of Christ's little flock: and, lastly, they sincerely lament, that so honoured a servant of God should seem, on any occasion, in supporting the righteous cause of religion, to have relied on political dexterity or on the favour of a court, or to have afforded a handle for the suspicion of artifice and duplicity."

The fifteenth century presents a wide and interesting field. Mr. Milner divides his history of this period into four chapters, entitled as follows:—1. The Lollards.—2. The Council of Constance, including the cases of John Huss and Jerom of Prague.—3. The Hussites till the beginning of the Reformation.—4. A brief Review of the Fifteenth Century. The first chapter is dedicated exclusively to the English Lollards, or followers of Wickliffe; many of whom were called to seal their testimony with their blood. It does not appear that any of them suffered death during the reign of Richard the Second, which our historian ascribes, not to the moderation of the ruling ecclesiastics, but partly to the influence of the Duke of Lancaster whom he calls the political father of the Lollards, and partly to the influence of the Queen who was sister to the King of Bohemia, and who appears to have been a woman of real piety. Mr. Milner observes, that, though "the accounts of this princess in regard to religion are brief, yet they merit our particular attention, because they seem to illustrate the course of divine providence, in paving the way for that connection between England and Bohemia, by which the labours of Wickliffe became so serviceable in propagating the Gospel in the latter country."

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the see of Canterbury was filled by Thomas Arundel,* who found in King Henry the Fourth, a spirit of persecution congenial with his own. We learn from Mr. Hume, that no penal laws had hitherto been enacted in England against heresy, but that

* This prelate preached the queen's funeral sermon, whom he commended for studying the evangelists in the vulgar tongue; but, says our author, "shortly after the death of our good queen, this same prelate, to the utmost of his power, stirred up the king to harass, throughout the whole kingdom, the very persons who should dare, in their native language, to read and study the gospels of Jesus Christ." Such inconsistencies (he justly observes) are not uncommon in the annals of human nature.

now, for the first time, the burning of heretics received the sanction of a parliamentary statute. The first victim of this sanguinary law was William Sawtre, a beneficed clergyman in London, who suffered martyrdom in the year 1480.

Arundel found Henry the Fifth no less disposed to persecute the Lollards than his father had been. Our author enters into the detail of the proceedings against the Coryphæus of the sect, Lord Cobham, who had excited the implacable rage of the hierarchy by dispersing the writings of Wickliffe among the people, and maintaining a number of itinerant preachers in various parts of the kingdom. This brave and pious nobleman, we are told, when brought to the place of execution, died, as he had lived, in the faith and hope of the Gospel; bearing to the end a noble testimony to its genuine doctrines, and exhorting the people to follow the instructions which God had given them in the scriptures, and to disclaim those false teachers whose lives and conversation were so contrary to Christ and his religion. We present to our readers the account which is given by Mr. Milner of the martyrdom of a poor and illiterate disciple of Wickliffe.

"The name of John Badby, a low and illiterate workman, well deserves to be recorded for the honour of divine truth. Arundel took serious pains to persuade him that the consecrated bread was really and properly the body of Christ. 'After the consecration it remaineth,' said Badby, 'the same material bread which it was before; nevertheless it is a sign or sacrament of the living God. I believe the omnipotent God in trinity to be *one*. But if every consecrated host be the Lord's body, then there are twenty thousand gods in England.' After he had been delivered to the secular power by the bishops, he was, by the king's writ, condemned to be burned. The Prince of Wales, happening to be present, very earnestly exhorted him to recant, adding the most terrible menaces of the vengeance which would overtake him if he should continue in his obstinacy. Badby, however, was inflexible. As soon as he felt the fire, he cried, mercy! The prince, supposing that he was entreating the mercy of his judges, ordered the fire to be quenched. 'Will you forsake heresy?' said young Henry; 'and will you conform to the faith of the holy Church? if you will, you shall have a yearly stipend out of the king's treasury.' The martyr was unmoved, and Henry in a rage declared that he might now look for no favour. Badby gloriously finished his course in the flames. It was a marvellous instance of the strength of Christ made perfect in weakness, and a striking proof that God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, that a simple artificer should sustain the most cruel torments with patience and serenity, not only in defence of divine truth, but also of common sense; while the most dignified characters in the kingdom, and among these the Prince of Wales afterwards the renowned Henry V. gloried in defending one of the most egregious absurdities that ever disgraced the human understanding. What are all *his* victories and triumphs, of which English history is so proud, compared with the grace which appeared in Badby?"

Arundel was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by Henry Chicheley, who filled it about thirty years, a gloomy period for true Christians in England, who were made to feel the iron rigour of the archbishop's rod. Their assemblies for the purposes of devotion were represented to the civil power as nurseries of sedition and rebellion; their books were destroyed, and the demon of persecution was let loose against their persons in the varied cruelties of exile, imprisonment, and the flames. "The principal use," says our author, "to be made of these scenes is to excite a spirit of thankfulness for the superior privileges of the times in which we live." He closes his detail of the sufferings of the Lollards with the following reflections.

"Such were the sanguinary methods by which the prelates of England attempted to extirpate Lollardism and heresy; and they so far succeeded, that the few disciples of Wickliffe, who still remained alive, seem to have been afterwards confounded with the favourers of the *grand reformation*: but in their main object of strengthening the Roman Catholic religion, they utterly failed. The burning of heretics was found to be not the way to extinguish heresy: on the contrary, both in England and on the continent, such detestable cruelty increased the compassion of the people for the sufferers, excited their indignation against the persecutors, and roused a spirit of inquiry and of opposition to the existing hierarchy, which, at length, under the direction of a kind, over-ruling Providence, proved fatal both to papal corruptions of sound doctrine, and also to papal usurpations of dominion."

In reviewing the conduct of the various agents in those scenes of cruelty and blood which disgrace the annals of

this period, our historian makes some candid concessions respecting the *measure* of their wickedness, which we recommend to the consideration of those who are apt to pronounce an unqualified sentence of condemnation upon all the ecclesiastical judges and rulers of those times, as hypocrites and deceivers who sacrificed all principle and conscience to ambition and avarice. The chapter closes with the following pertinent reflection.

"When we are wearied and astonished with the contemplation of the barbarous and bloody scenes of this century, one of the most profitable and most certain conclusions we can arrive at is, that the human 'heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked.'"

(To be continued.)

CXXIV. *The Church of England vindicated from Mis-representation; shewing her genuine Doctrines, as contained in her Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies; with a particular Reference to the Elements of Christian Theology by the Bishop of Lincoln.* By A PRESBYTER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. 8vo. London, Mawman. pp. 162.

THE inquiries which have been lately made into the genuine sense of our articles, promise to be attended with beneficial effects; for although the several writings which have appeared on this subject, are not exempt from some of the imperfections which too often disfigure polemical disquisitions, yet a diligent, impartial, and persevering search after the truth will be likely to produce advantage to the present and future generations.

The present vindication of the Church of England consists of three parts; a Letter addressed to the Bishop of Lincoln; "a preliminary Consideration of the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England," and "Animadversions on the Bishop of Lincoln's Christian Theology." The sense of the articles, for which the author contends, is the calvinistic; and it is the chief purport of his work to prove, that they cannot fairly admit of any other interpretation; and that the man, who having subscribed them, expounds their contents in the Anti-calvinistic sense is guilty of prevarication. These positions we shall have occasion to examine more particularly in a subsequent part of this review.

The report from the clergy of a district in the diocese of Lincoln, published about three years ago, furnishes the Presbyter with an opportunity of lamenting the decay of Christian piety in the Church. The authors of that report and the letter-writer agree in affirming a lamentable declension of the spirit and power of religion among us, but there is not the same conformity of opinion concerning the causes of this state. The following are the causes assigned by the Presbyter.

"1. A departure from the doctrines of the Church. 2. Inattention to the duties of the ministry; and 3. A great relaxation from the spirituality of heart and conduct, which becomes every real Christian, and, in a more especial manner, the ministers of the sanctuary." (p. 7.)

In enlarging on "inattention to the duties of the ministry" as a "chief cause of the prevailings of ungodliness," the author delivers many serious and pertinent remarks, which we would recommend to the attention of every minister of a parish. He insists on the duty of catechising the young with more care and intelligence; the examining strictly into their knowledge of the Christian faith and practice, before they receive tickets for confirmation; the obligation on ministers to visit their flock from house to house, and "to inquire into the religious state of every family respecting prayer, and the reading of the word." (p. 15, 16.)

We could have added to the detail of blameable conduct, the ill consequences flowing from the careless, indolent, and irreverent manner in which the several parts of divine service are too frequently performed; a dislike of various parochial duties explicitly avowed by many, and clearly evinced by a preference for those livings or cures where there is the least scope for their performance; and a disposition in others unduly to magnify the importance of preaching, compared with the other branches of ministerial duty. We hope that the suggestions offered by this and other writers on the urgent necessity which exists, of re-

moving the ignorance and opposing the impiety and irreligion which overspread the christian church, may obtain the serious consideration of every minister of Christ.

In treating of the third cause of the declension of religion in the established Church, our author makes some useful observations on the temper and conduct befitting the ministers of Jesus Christ; and he contrasts the "zeal, charity, deadness to the world, diligence in their calling, delight in their ministerial duties, correct conduct, edifying conversation, temperance in all things, gentleness of temper, and readiness to every good word and work," which become them; with the "carelessness about men's souls, indifference to their spiritual welfare, perfunctory public services, a distance from the people in all kind offices of instruction or charity, tenaciousness of gain or emoluments, a life of sport or amusements, servile attention to the great, passionate language or address, haughty superiority, not to mention criminal irregularities," which are sometimes to be met with. (p. 17, 18.)

Although the Presbyter's epistolary address contains many sentiments highly useful and commendable, yet justice will by no means permit us to bestow upon it an unqualified praise. Through the whole of the letter he appears to consider calvinism and pure christianity as synonymous terms; and more than insinuates, that no good effects are to be expected from the teaching of any minister who does not understand the articles in a calvinistic sense. And when he is opposing the "pitiful complaints," as he terms them, of a prevalence of enthusiastic notions and practices, made by the Lincolnshire clergy, he compliments the Calvinists as "men too enlightened in the mysteries of godliness," to be fairly chargeable with such things; but he is willing to allow that "there may have been a man of Arminian leaven and enthusiastic ideas among the followers of Mr. Wesley," upon whom the imputation may justly fall.

These different representations appear to us hasty and inconsiderate. The letter-writer cannot surely be ignorant, that a large proportion of the reformed churches abroad are, at this day, Lutheran; and that more than one denomination of Christians are to be found in this kingdom who do not maintain Calvinistic tenets, yet have nevertheless been eminently useful in propagating the Gospel, and converting sinners to righteousness. It surely is not candid to brand, as this writer does, as Arminians or Pelagians, all who cannot subscribe to each article of his creed, and to allow neither truth nor goodness in those who dissent from him.

The readiness also with which he transfers the charge of enthusiasm to those whom he terms Arminians, is very reprehensible. He must have little acquaintance with the history of man, who does not know that enthusiasts have been found under every form of religious profession, and in every department of science. This fever of the human soul is not the exclusive offspring of any particular set of opinions: the flame may be enkindled by doctrines of the most opposite character, by tenets the most remote and dissimilar from each other; and it may waste itself on objects the most minute, frivolous, and contemptible. Enthusiasm (though some tenets lead more directly to it than others) has its ground and foundation in human nature itself, in a state of imperfection and infirmity, and will probably continue to disorder the understanding and pervert the conduct of mankind while men and their works endure.

We have thought it our duty, on different occasions, to insist on the necessity of clergymen subscribing the articles of our Church in their most plain, obvious, and grammatical sense. Upon this point, indeed, the letter-writer and the Bishop of Lincoln are perfectly agreed. But while we accede to what the former has urged respecting subscription to the articles, we are led to conjecture, from the tenour of several other passages in his letter, that he does not consider a clergyman as lying under equal obli-

gations, to adhere to the order and discipline of the Church. Now, if the subscribing to doctrinal articles binds the clergyman to preach and to teach conformably to them, surely the oath of canonical obedience forms no inferior restriction upon his conduct. The charges of insincerity, prevarication, *mala fides*, which have been urged with so much propriety, against those who employ evasion, subterfuge, or reserve, to justify their teaching doctrines hostile to those they have subscribed, apply with equal force against irregular and disorderly clergymen. And although the consequences of enforcing erroneous doctrines may be more immediately pernicious to the people, yet the minister, who continues to receive the emoluments of the Church, while he habitually violates the vow he made at his ordination, must have an extraordinary method of quieting his conscience, if he lays claim to the character of a man of rigid and blameless integrity.

We come now to consider the correctness and utility of the author's animadversions on the Bishop of Lincoln's Elements of Theology. And here we would premise, that it will by no means follow, as our author seems to suppose, that if the learned prelate's interpretation is wrong, his own must therefore be right.

The author does not offer any very important remark on the first seven articles. In his animadversions on the exposition of the eighth article, we meet with somewhat inauspicious. His Lordship had expressed it as his opinion, "that our Church would have acted more wisely, and more consistently with its general principles of mildness and toleration, if it had not adopted the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian creed;" the learned prelate at the same time declaring, "I firmly believe that the doctrines themselves of this creed are all founded in scripture." Notwithstanding this declaration of his full and entire assent to the doctrines contained in this confession of faith, the Presbyter charges the Bishop with beginning "an exposition of the doctrinal articles of the Church with an explicit disavowal of her creed." But surely it is not fair to charge the Bishop of Lincoln with rejecting the creed of the Church, when he only doubts the propriety of inserting a clause, expressing, in unqualified terms, the condition of those who disbelieve it. What connexion this doubt has with Arminianism we are not sufficiently acute to discover; but the author assures his readers that he perceives it.

Article 9. The Presbyter's animadversions on the Bishop of Lincoln's exposition of this article, are drawn up in a verbose and declamatory style, and are sufficiently expressive of disapprobation, but he no where attempts a coherent refutation of the Bishop's tenets, nor does he delineate the true sense of the Church upon this important point.

That our Church teaches the doctrine of original sin, as it was taught by St. Austin, no one who has examined the subject can reasonably doubt; and, in the article on this subject, she unquestionably does not admit of any such latitude of interpretation as that man is not by nature depraved and corrupt, or that he is not liable, not only to the pains and miseries of human life, on account of his guilt, but to eternal death.

These views of the sentiments of our Church on this point, the Bishop of Lincoln seems to allow and defend. But having introduced, in the progress of his commentary, the opinions of certain persons who propagate tenets, which in our judgment are inconsistent with the language of scripture no less than with that of the Church, these opinions are considered by the Presbyter as his own. There appears, however, no more ground for such a conclusion, than there is for imputing to Bishop Burnett the varying opinions he has collected on the sense of the articles. A distinction should always be made between what a writer produces as an historian, and what he decides as a judge.

As a specimen of the Presbyter's talents for reasoning, we subjoin the following passage:

"If the image of God is restored by a *new birth*, a *new creation*, a *new man*, BEFORE *he can be entitled to the benefits of the Gospel dispensation*, the work appears to be ended before it is begun: or do these transcendent blessings constitute no part of the benefits of the Gospel dispensation? I suspect the Bishop must have read the New Testament backwards, if he supposes these powerful operations of the Holy Ghost were BEFORE and not AFTER we became entitled to all spiritual blessings in heavenly things in Christ." (p. 65.)

The Bishop of Lincoln seems to suppose, that "before a man can be entitled to the benefits of the Gospel dispensation," by which we conceive he means, before he can obtain the pardon of his sins, be reinstated in the favour of God, and have a title to everlasting life; he must be "born again," &c. The Presbyter asserts, that "these powerful operations of the Holy Ghost take place *after* a man is entitled to all spiritual blessings;" &c. By which we suppose he means, that pardon of sin and reconciliation with God, &c. are benefits conferred *before* conversion. Now with whatever system these tenets may accord, we are sure they are no where to be found in the articles, homilies, or liturgy of the Church of England; since these writings, in conformity with the language of sacred scripture, address the sinner with "*repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out*," &c. But while we object to some passages in the Presbyter's work, we would not be understood to approve of the whole of the Bishop of Lincoln's exposition of the article on original sin.

Article 10. The principal remarks offered by the Presbyter are on the following passage of the exposition: "If we cherish our good dispositions, and feel a sincere desire to be virtuous, we may rest assured that he (God) will, by the communications of his grace, help our infirmities, invigorate our resolutions, and supply our defects." We agree with the animadverter, that this language is not agreeable to the doctrine of the article before us, which describes man in his natural state as neither having a will, nor a power, to do works acceptable to God without the aid of divine grace. We cannot, however, commend the sarcastic manner in which the Presbyter has expressed his disapprobation on a subject, which it peculiarly became him to discuss "with meekness of wisdom."

Article 11. In the exposition of this article, the Bishop of Lincoln disclaims the merit of works in the justification of a sinner, and insists that even faith itself is "not so meritorious* in its own nature, as to entitle us to the reward of eternal life;" yet he maintains, that when St. Paul declares a man is not justified by the works of the law, he means "those numerous outward ordinances prescribed by the law of Moses and abolished by the Gospel of Christ." The Presbyter contends, and we think justly, that it was the Apostle's intention to exclude the moral as well as the ceremonial law from having any part in the justification of a sinner before God. That faith is productive of good works is a doctrine taught equally by the prelate and his opponent, but certainly after such a mode by the former as exposes him to some just animadversions.

On the subject of the twelfth article there is no material difference of opinion between the Presbyter and the learned prelate. When treating on the thirteenth article, we fear that both the bishop and his critic have transcended the bounds of revelation. The Bishop of Lincoln believes, that "millions who never heard the name of Jesus will be redeemed and blessed for ever through the merits of his death." On the other hand, the Presbyter seems to contend for the everlasting damnation of all who have not heard and received the Gospel. But when men will confidently decide where the scriptures have not condescended to indulge our vain curiosity, it is no breach of candour to say, that "they are wise above what is written."

The exposition of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth articles are but slightly noticed by the Presbyter.

* This mode of expression appears to us inaccurate, as it would seem to imply that there is in faith a certain degree of meritoriousness towards the attainment of eternal life.

The doctrines of predestination and election, which constitute the subject of the seventeenth article, have furnished abundant matter of controversy, both in the Romish and Reformed Churches. Scarcely any man has been hardy enough to deny, that certain declarations, concerning predestination and election, are to be found in the holy scriptures and in the public documents of our Church; and the ground of debate has been, in what sense these declarations are to be understood. The seventeenth article is interpreted by the Bishop of Lincoln in what may be termed the Arminian sense, which implies, that, upon faith and obedience foreseen, the elect were predestinated to eternal life; whereas a calvinistic expositor would maintain, that predestination is to be wholly resolved into the absolute will and good pleasure of God.

Those who have paid much attention to the controversies raised upon these awful and mysterious subjects very well know, that learned men, on each side the question, have claimed the Church of England as an ally; and this circumstance alone might incline an unprejudiced reader to suppose, that the Church has not been very precise and definite in the language she has employed on these profound topics. We would not be misunderstood as affirming, that the Church of England has not declared her belief in predestination and election; but then she has certainly not modelled her articles, homilies, and liturgy in conformity with the institutions of Calvin: for not to adduce her explicit declaration of the doctrine of general redemption in the thirty-first article, in the catechism, and again in the communion service, a doctrine which was defended not only by our first reformers, but even by our divines at the Synod of Dort, (because Calvin himself appears to have, in a certain sense, admitted its truth;) the Church of England certainly no where inculcates that the fall of Adam was the effect of a divine decree; nor does the tenet of reprobation, so explicitly taught by Calvin, Beza, and others, obtain a place in her public and authentic acts. That the omission of th last doctrine was regarded as important by those who adopted all the opinions of Calvin is rendered highly probable, since it was inserted in the Lambeth articles; in the Irish articles, which were compiled in the year 1615; and it also appears in the public acts of the Synod of Dort.

The Church of England, in the 17th article, does not appear to us to have intended to express the opinions either of Calvin or Arminius; she states the doctrine of predestination and election in terms borrowed from the scriptures, and in conformity with the sacred writings, she addresses the heart rather than the understanding, teaching us some of the practical purposes to which these doctrines may be applied, and at the same time giving us salutary cautions against idle curiosity and presumptuous speculations.

To assent to the truths contained in the seventeenth article, by subscribing it according to the literal and grammatical sense of the words, does not imply that it is subscribed according to the exposition of Calvin, Gomarus, or Elisha Cole on the one hand; nor in conformity with Episcopius or John Goodwin on the other. We know nothing of the subjects of predestination and election but from revelation, to the language of which the article in question prudently adheres: it must, therefore, be subscribed according to the sense of the holy scriptures, which are the only authentic and infallible expositors of it; and as the stream cannot rise higher than its source, the articles, while they strictly conform to the oracles of God, cannot be more clear, explicit, and free from ambiguity than the Bible is. An expositor, therefore, who shall attempt to make that plain and easy to be comprehended which is veiled in much obscurity in the sacred writings, may be a bold or an ingenious man, but he is not a legitimate interpreter; for where the light given by revelation is faint and obscure, this obscurity must remain till the Almighty himself shall be pleased to give a farther elucidation.

The allwise God, who alone knows what is best suited to the state and condition of his creatures, has not con-

veyed the knowledge of divine things to them in one broad, uniform current of information. On all subjects essential to salvation, there is a communication sufficiently full, clear, and explicit, leaving little room for suspense or contention. But on many other topics, where duty and practice are not so immediately and obviously concerned, instruction is imparted more sparingly. It is not at all necessary to the exercise of faith, and the advancement of holiness, that the difficulties and obscurities of revelation should be removed, since we may understand the terms of a proposition without fully comprehending all that is included in it: we may be able to prove and defend a doctrine without being competent to explain it in the detail. Those, therefore, who subscribe the seventeenth article, professing they comprehend the subject of predestination and election too imperfectly to authorize their constructing a system of divinity upon it, are no more guilty of prevarication than Calvin was of infidelity when he declined writing a commentary on the Revelation of St. John, because he did not understand it. He neither denied its authority nor rejected its contents, but received it, as he did the other books of the New Testament, with submission and reverence.

We by no means think with the Presbyter, that in the article of subscription the clergyman is bound to collect the private opinions of the reformers, and to be controlled by them in his intrepretation of the articles; but that he is to understand them according to the literal and grammatical meaning of the words, not making them say more than they fairly express. Many of those who framed the oath of abjuration firmly believed that James the Second was attempting to impose a spurious heir to the crown upon the people of England; but great numbers of those who took it believed the child to be legitimate. Were they, therefore, guilty of falsehood in this transaction? By no means. Their consciences were obliged by the terms in which the oath was framed, and not by the private opinions of those who ordained or administered it.

It is one principal object of the work before us, as has already been observed, to prove that the articles are calvinistic. If the Presbyter means to affirm that they were composed and modelled after Calvin's institutions, we conceive the representation to be extremely incorrect. That they agree in several points with the opinions held by Mr. Calvin must be admitted, but the same may be said, with equal propriety, of the Lutheran Church, of all the reformed congregations, and even of the Greek and Romish Churches. Every class or order of Christians, who judge it proper to reduce the subjects of their faith into distinct and explicit propositions, as they derive their principles from the same source, must hold many tenets in common. To pretend, therefore, that the doctrines taught in our articles, of man's moral depravity, of the atonement, of justification by faith alone, of free will, &c. and even of predestination and election, are in any peculiar and exclusive sense calvinistic, is manifestly contradictory to all the records of ecclesiastic history. That Mr. Calvin himself did not imagine our first reformers were directed in their proceedings by his peculiar tenets, is evident from the letters he wrote to the Protector Somerset, to Archbishop Cranmer, and others; and speaking of the English liturgy, he observes of it, *multas video tolerabiles ineptias.*

When the Presbyter asserts, that the "true state of man by *nature*, as fallen, is the corner stone of the doctrine called calvinistic;" "that this doctrine always meets with the most inveterate opposition; and that every effort of ingenuity and sophistry is used to explain it away, &c." we are not sure that we entirely comprehend his meaning. The moral depravity of human nature has obtained a place in the confession of faith of every reformed church, and is no more a peculiarity of calvinism than the doctrine of the being of a God. There are thousands of wise and excellent persons in the world, who regard the opinions of Calvin, on the subjects of predestination and reprobation, with horror; who, nevertheless, contend as strongly, as clearly, and unequivocally,

for the truth of this important article as Mr. Calvin himself.

There is a manifest impropriety, and a danger of making very false impressions, in giving to articles of faith, held in common by the best part of the Christian world, a denomination implying peculiarity and appropriation to some one sect; and if it were at all allowable to affix any distinctive appellation to the articles of the Church of England, they ought to be called Cranmeristic: since we are really indebted to Cranmer and not to Calvin for the form in which they now appear.

We sincerely deplore those unhappy contentions which have, from time to time, ravaged the Church, weakened the bonds of Christian charity, drawn away the mind from the practical simplicity of the scriptures, and bewildered it with topics too remote and inaccessible for the human intellect to reach. We find nothing in the sacred oracles like the exactness of a logical method, or the subtilties of metaphysical distinctions. The inspired writers display no solicitude about nicely measured expressions, rigorous definitions, or refined reasoning; on the contrary, there often appears a sort of holy carelessness, if we may be allowed the expression, in their manner of writing; they are not confined within the narrow limits of artificial rules, but express themselves with a boldness and an amplitude consonant with the greatness of their subject, and the majesty of him whose ambassadors they are. When men attempt to reduce divine revelation within the scanty grasp of their own reason, where fragments and atoms are made the measures of things, they may gratify a vain or presumptuous mind by constructing a system smooth, uniform, and rotund, suitable to their own littleness: while those who adhere to the language of the holy scriptures, with a simple, open, and ingenuous heart, will be less solicitous to frame a perfect scheme of theology, than to acquiesce in God's mode of teaching his creatures the way of becoming wise unto eternal salvation. It were greatly to be wished, that Christians of every denomination would rest satisfied with the general declarations of scripture, without too curiously inquiring into the nature and reason of things; and by adhering to the language of the Bible rather than to that of the schools, following at the same time the methods of instruction pointed out by our Saviour and his Apostles, they would more effectually promote the progress of piety in their own minds, and advance unity and charity among their brethren.

That our author differs materially in his interpretation of the articles from the majority of those ministers in the Church of England, who are *generally reputed* to be Calvinists, but to whom we admit that that name is improperly applied, might easily be shewn. It may be sufficient, in order to prove the difference which exists between their views of the doctrinal articles of the Church and those of Presbyter, to refer to a work we have already reviewed, "The true Churchmen ascertained," by Mr. Overton. That able and learned writer thus expresses himself on the subject, "To say the least, our established forms do not *teach directly* several doctrines which are contained in Calvin's institutions. They do not, with this work, affirm, that the fall of man was the effect of a *divine decree.* They do not use the language it does respecting the *extent of Christ's redemption.* They are silent concerning *absolute reprobation,*" &c. (p. 94.) The reader, who is unacquainted with the work to which we refer, is requested to turn to our first volume, p. 109, where we have inserted at length the passage from which the above extract is taken, the whole of which he will find to be highly worthy of his deliberate perusal.

To conclude. In the work before us, the author has displayed a concern for the advancement of true piety, and has made many useful and important observations, which clergymen in general may find worthy of serious attention; but we conceive that he has not succeeded in proposing the most unexceptionable mode of interpreting the articles of the Church of England. We cannot forbear also expressing our regret that he should have introduced so much of what is captious and sarcastic,

as it can have no effect whatever in producing conciliation, and must rather tend to obstruct than to promote the reception of useful and important truths.

CXXV. *Brougham's Colonial Policy of the European Powers.*

(Continued from p. 637.)

Of the many interesting topics discussed in this work, we selected two for particular notice; as well because the principles they involve fall peculiarly within our province as Christian reviewers, as because the topics themselves are of great national importance. On the first of these, the African Slave Trade, Mr Brougham has taken the side upon which the disciple of Christ (ignorance of facts excepted,) will always be found. But of the precepts of religion as such, Mr. Brougham has made no use; neglectful of their proffered alliance he has brought into the field only the arms of human wisdom and morality. These, indeed, supplied force ample enough to overthrow and confound the apologists of the Slave Trade; but upon such a subject an appeal to higher principles, or some express reference, at least, to their authority, would have been natural, and what even the bashfulness of modern religion might have tolerated.

The observation of this defect lessens our surprise at the inconsistences we must proceed to notice in the work before us. Philanthropy, not rooted in a sense of duty to God, is like a statue removed from its pedestal, and placed upright on the ground. It appears still to stand upon its proper feet, but their cement is gone, and as they form a base too narrow for its firm and stable support, the first adverse blast produces overthrow, mutilation, and ruin. Benevolence, indeed, though unsupported by piety, may be steady in a particular direction, as the statue in the face of the wind against which it was originally balanced; but the weakness of the principle is found in the partiality, at least, of its influence, if not in its instability.

Mr. B's feelings for the oppressed Africans, perhaps, are not his leading motives for hostility to the Slave Trade. As a cool politician he sees its pernicious effects to the welfare and security of the colonies on which he is chiefly intent; and therefore, perhaps, felt it not inconsistent, in discussing the second topic, to drop all regard for the sufferings of that injured race, when public expediency seemed to him to side with their oppressors. Certain it is, that this zealous abolitionist is an advocate for measures at which even the champions of the Slave Trade might revolt. A large part of his work consists of an elaborate exhortation to the powers of Europe to co-operate with France in her sanguinary efforts to re-enslave the negroes of St. Domingo.

Mr. B. from the feelings he has elsewhere displayed, is entitled to the most favourable construction; and therefore, though his work was published in the present year, we are inclined to believe that he wrote it and gave it to the public, under an ignorance of the manner in which that horrible war against the black colonists was conducted on the part of France. Immersed in literary labours, he had not listened, perhaps, to the political intelligence of the day, attentively enough to know that the extermination of a whole people was become the dreadful object of the war waged by the First Consul; and the deliberate massacre of unoffending thousands its ordinary means. He had, at the same time, forgotten, or did not know, that of these devoted men, at least twelve thousand were entitled to the freedom they were massacred for defending, not merely by the laws of ungrateful France, but by the solemn stipulation of Great Britain herself, in whose armies they had been enrolled on that condition, and for whom they faithfully fought till, upon our evacuation of the island, they, in pursuance of a convention, entered into between General Maitland and Toussaint, joined the negro chief. But after every possible supposition is made in favour of Mr. Brougham, his zealous recommendation of an alliance with France in that detestable contest demands our decided reprehension.

As our readers may be anxious to know upon what ground an abolitionist

and an enemy to West India Slavery could wish for a confederacy, we give the following brief abstract of his arguments.

The West Indian settlements of the different powers of Europe are of vast utility and importance to the states to which they respectively belong. A balance of power is kept up or restored in that part of the globe between the colonizing states, by the effect of the same conservatory and restorative powers which maintain an equilibrium in Europe; for whatever colonial conquests may be made in war are relinquished, in great measure, by the European treaty of peace. The establishment of an independent power in the Antilles would be highly dangerous to this fortunate source of security, and the colonizing powers would soon irrecoverably lose their West Indian possessions; for the new transatlantic state might easily make conquests, and there would be no tendency in the balancing system of Europe to obtain their restitution, there being no intimate relations between such a state and the European powers. The nations which have no West Indian territory would even have an interest in favouring the usurpations of the new state, for the sake of its independent commerce. The physical superiority of negroes in that climate, and other causes, would make an independent community of negroes in this view peculiarly dangerous. It is, therefore, the common interest of all the powers of Europe to assist France in conquering the negroes of St. Domingo, and restoring the ancient slavery in that island.

In this reasoning our readers will observe, the question of moral duty is wholly omitted. Of that pernicious school, wherein political expediency usurps the chair of conscience, Mr. Brougham appears to be so confirmed a graduate, as to think its tenets undeniable by any reasoning mind. Public expediency and practical fitness seem to be with him convertible terms.

To justify this stricture, we will extract a few passages in which moral considerations, of the highest kind, are exhibited by our author only to be tossed out of the scale, with an indifference not to be surpassed.

"There can be little doubt, that the fatal disproportion of the two classes of society, the great proportion of imported negroes, and the cruel treatment of the slaves in general, would be all materially altered by any revolution that should separate the colonies from the parent states, whilst the more vigorous administration of an independent community would lessen the danger arising from such a mixture of negroes, of such abuses of the slave system as might still remain." (2 vol. p. 75.)

Again,

"Great care will be taken of the stock of negroes in hand. The proportion of Creole to imported negroes will be much increased, and humane treatment of the slaves will produce its natural and constant effect, fidelity and attachment on their part. The condition of the whole body of negroes being greatly ameliorated, they will gradually improve in habits of sobriety and voluntary industry; they will become more civilized and safe inmates of the community." (Ibid. p. 78.)

These are some of the happy effects which our author foresees from the establishment of an independent state in the West Indies; surely, then, our readers will exclaim, he wishes for such an establishment! By no means. These, in combination with other effects, will make the new State powerful and dangerous to its neighbours; and our author is reasoning to the conclusion, that the powers of Europe ought all to oppose so dangerous an establishment.

He afterwards opposes to those happy prospects the consequences to be expected from the re-establishment of the French power, and of the ancient slavery at St. Domingo. He justly supposes, that the planters will be necessitous and in bad credit; the effects of which are thus anticipated.

"The immediate consequence of the difficulties which thus oppress the planters, is an eagerness for quick returns upon their stock of negroes, and a constant demand of new supplies from the Guinea trader; the slaves are worked out; breeding is of course neglected," &c. (Ibid. p. 103.)

He notices a fact on the other side of the account, the important truth that the equality of numbers between the sexes in St. Domingo has been, in a considerable measure, if not wholly, restored by the slaughter of adult male

negroes, who, before the revolution, greatly outnumbered the females; but for this change, fortunate to morals as well as population, Mr. Brougham sees a counterpoise and a reversal in the success of the First Consul.

"The treatment will be more harsh while the hands are deficient, and the importation will be greater than ever; so that the natural increase will now be brought to its former level, and the proportion of Creoles to new slaves will soon be much less than before." (Ibid. p. 112.)

He proceeds to shew other consequences equally painful to contemplate, which are likely to result from the supposed conquest, such as frequent insurrection and massacre from the natural discontent of the re-enslaved negroes.

Now all these, Christian readers, are arguments, not on that side whereon your hearts have already placed them, but on the other; because such effects will long impair the French power at St. Domingo, and thereby increase the security of our own sugar colonies.

"It cannot be doubted," says our author in another place, "that the total abolition of slavery in any one of the sugar colonies, and the cultivation of its territories by free subjects, whose constitutions are adapted to the climate, would be attended with the most beneficial effects, and raise its comparative resources and strength to a very high pitch." (Ibid. p. 120.)

Ought we, therefore, to wish for the abolition of slavery in our own colonies? By no means. Still the only practical conclusion is, that we ought "to *assist the strenuous efforts of the French government*," and "*not to startle at a sound, or shrink back from the name of a French alliance*," lest negro liberty should be ultimately established in St. Domingo.

Our readers, recollecting that Mr. Brougham is a zealous abolitionist, and deeply impressed with the cruelty of West Indian oppression, may, perhaps, suspect, that in this part of his work he is not serious, but is using the weapon of broad and palpable irony. We should be almost inclined to adopt that opinion, had not our author manifested the sincerity of his wish for the confederacy which he recommends, by symptoms of a most unequivocal kind; such as loss of temper, and breaches of candour towards those whose principles are adverse to his views.

"The consistent friend of humanity may be permitted to feel some tenderness for his European brethren, although they are white and civilized, and to deprecate that inconsistent spirit of canting philanthropy, which in Europe is only excited by the injuries or miseries of the poor and the profligate, and on the other side of the Atlantic is never exercised but towards the savage, the mulatto, or the slave." (p. 310.)

Of the privileges of *consistent humanity*, Mr. Brougham is certainly no self-*interested* champion. In the disgrace of "canting philanthropy," however, he may be more interested than he is aware; for we fear those "white and civilized brethren," for whose sakes our author would engage in a confederacy with France will, notwithstanding, be ready to call his reprehension of their own despotism and cruelty, if not also his sentiments on the Slave Trade, by that very convenient name Indeed, as he has exhibited no symptoms of *religious* "canting," we see not what other course is left them to take with him; for the terms "*cant* and *canting*" are the caballistic sounds whereby alone the poor practical latitudinarian can escape, when spell-bound by the wizards who would circumscribe him with the dictates of religion or morality. We can assure Mr. Brougham that the "cant" even of *honour* is odious to the black-legged fraternity; and that all the nimble-fingered gentry of Mother Kelly's gang exclaim loudly against the "cant" of honesty, with which they are often annoyed from the bench at the Old Bailey.

If an apologist of the Slave Trade had written the passage we have extracted, his meaning would have been obvious; but what this sarcasm on the friends of the oppressed Africans can be meant by Mr. Brougham to convey, it is really difficult to imagine. It is not a desire for the abolition of the Slave Trade or the reform of the colonial system that, in his estimate, can deserve the censure of inconsistent or canting philanthropy, for he professes to be zealous for both; nor

can his imputation allude to any other possitive effort of benevolence in favour of that injured race, whom he characterizes by "the savage, the mulatto, and the slave;" for what else has been aimed at by any body, for their benefit, in exclusion of his "white and civilized brethren?" We are driven, therefore, to search for a meaning in the context, and the only one there to be found is this, "that all who do not wish with Mr. Brougham to engage in a horrible confederacy with France, in order to carry on the war in St Domingo, are inconsistent and canting philanthropists.

Let it not be supposed, after all, that our author, in his horror at the notion of negro liberty, is appalled solely or chiefly by the prospect of private calamities to the planters. Their possible sufferings are with him a very inferior consideration to the loss of that commerce which he idolizes, and of that national emolument to which, in his plain opinions, moral considerations ought to give place.

"It is manifest," (i. e. in the event of a negro empire being established in the West Indies,) that all commerce with "those rich and fertile settlements will now be at an end. All the capital vested in the West Indian trade will be instantly thrown out of employment, and that which is invested in colonial property will of course be buried for ever. All the cash employed in colonial loans will either be lost, or suddenly forced back upon the European market; all the losses of the planters will be immediately shared by their European creditors and correspondents; all circulation of population and wealth to those parts of the world will at once be terminated, not to mention the less important consideration of private distress, less important only because it is of a less lasting nature. An universal earthquake or deluge which should at once blot out those fertile regions from the face of the physical globe is not to be so much deprecated as the lamentable catastrophe which should absorb them in negro dominion, and destroy their existence as a civilized quarter of the globe."

Enthusiasm at least, it will be granted, is not peculiar to canting philanthropy!

The arguments by which our author has deduced this formidable train of consequences as *manifest* effects of negro dominion in the West Indies contain inferences often extremely loose and conjectural, founded on premises not only erroneous and fallacious, but hard to reconcile with his own statement and opinions in other parts of his work. He supposes, that a negro state in the West Indies must necessarily be the seat of lasting anarchy and interminable disorders; that commerce and agriculture must be totally and for ever neglected; that the community must necessarily split itself into a number of petty and barbarous hordes; and that, notwithstanding this source of weakness, they will infallibly conquer and exterminate all their European neighbours with whom they will never maintain any pacific relations.

Of such extravagant speculations the first remarkable character is, that they are at war with all the evidence which experience has hitherto afforded. A single case has arisen, and that in our own days, of a negro state in the Antilles; for St. Domingo, though nominally connected with France, was undeniably through the whole of the last war self-dependant, self-governed, and self-defended: and what was the result? In spite of foreign and civil war, of a most unprecedented revolution, and of intestine temporary causes of disorder the most adverse possible to good government, order was restored, was preserved, and was fixed, until subverted by the mad invasion of France, upon a stable and regular basis. As to commerce and agriculture, let the imports of the neutral powers of Europe and the confessions of the French invaders attest, whether these were wholly abandoned; and whether, on the contrary, their extent was not as great as under such extreme pressure of foreign and civil war could have been expected from the most civilized people on earth. Whether pacific relations were maintained in this case by negroes with Europeans, we have witnesses nearer home to declare: not only the Spaniards of Cuba, but the English government might be invoked to refute our author's speculations on this head, and challenged to point out in what instance the faith of the negro government of St. Domingo was ever infringed. But above all, the notion that Africans cannot remain

united under one head, was practically refuted by Toussaint. So entire, so durable an ascendancy of one man in a new society, and so firm an adhesion of all the parts of a new society in one unbroken body, are perhaps unexampled in history. The union lasted as long as the period allowed by European despotism for the experiment, and the rudest shocks of war, as well as the most insidious sapping of foundations, were necessary at last to break for a while the tenacious fabric.

Of this volume of recent experience, Mr. Brougham has prudently forborne to open a single page. He has given no answer to this adverse testimony of notorious facts, except an attempt to elude its force by ascribing the whole that was right in St. Domingo to the personal character of Toussaint. (See p. 143. Vol. II.)

We admit, that singular talents and singular virtues too belonged to that extraordinary man; but if we must further admit to Mr. Brougham, that in these he was distinguishable from other Africans, we fear the distinction must go much farther, and that his own favoured race, though "white and civilized," will be found to produce few such characters as Toussaint. What then! Are Europeans also unfit to be members of an independent community? Besides, Mr. Brougham's logic is surely here a little rickety, for he has undertaken to maintain the incapacity of negroes, in general, or at least of the negroes now in the West Indies, not merely to be kings or heroes, but to be members of a civilized and independent society; and if under a wise leader they are not incapable of the latter, there is an end of his hypothesis. He must change his ground, and maintain, that though they found among half a million of their race a leader of the first order of heroes, and that too the moment they had occasion for such a character, it is impossible they should ever find another such chief, or even such an inferior one as is fit to govern.

Instead of the satisfactory evidence of experience, Mr. Brougham offers in support of his harsh hypothesis general and erroneous views of the negro character. He adverts, indeed, to the state of society in Africa, but his ideas of that subject are grossly erroneous in many parts, and whatever sound foundation of fact they have, applies only to the wretched districts which are the immediate shambles or ordinary thoroughfares of the Slave Trade. In the interior of Africa social institutions are found hardly less fatal to great part of our author's theory than the case of St. Domingo; and yet what fair analogy is to be traced between the civilizing causes to be found in the interior of Africa, and those which acted under Toussaint, and must ever act in a once cultivated West-Indian island? The very vices which our author imputes to this injured race would suffice, in the latter situation, to maintain at least some portion of agriculture and commerce. To renounce wholly the civil arts they have learned would be to renounce the luxuries of which they have known the taste, and were these to be given up, indolence itself would plead for raising and exporting coffee and cotton in preference to planting provisions, as the easier and known means of procuring by barter for imported articles all the necessaries of life. But where commerce and agriculture obtain in any degree, their tendency is rapidly to increase, at least where the means of increase are so ample, and excitement, by the demand of foreign exporters, is, as it would be in the ports of St. Domingo, incessant.

We expose, therefore, to Mr. Brougham's speculations, arguments *a priori* at least as plausible as his own; but we rely on that clearer answer, the practical solution of this interesting problem, during ten years in which the negroes of St. Domingo were in reality an independent people.

Our author discusses some other topics, of which late events have diminished the interest and importance, and though his opinions are sometimes highly erroneous, they are always supported with great ability, and much power of original conception. His

diligence in research is also every where conspicuous, and though his errors in point of fact are neither few nor trivial, yet considering how difficult it is to find sources of colonial information unpolluted by prejudice and even by intentional falsehood, Mr. B. is entitled to great praise for collecting so much important truth, with no larger commixture of error.

His mistakes are chiefly to be found in those parts of his work which were evidently composed with haste, in order to catch in their flight the temporary colonial questions which arose out of the war of St. Domingo; and the warmth of political controversy may here have combined with haste to induce a credulous adoption of facts which were friendly to a leading opinion.

We must particularly caution our readers not to rely upon his historical statements, as to the nature and event of insurrections in the foreign colonies. Mr. B. for instance gives the following account of the insurrection in Berbice, in 1763:—"Sometimes the negroes have been completely successful, as in the year 1763, when the colony of Berbice was wholly in their possession, until weary of a state of unbridled licentiousness, unnatural even to the most savage tribes, and satiated with the possession of an independence foreign to their habits, they submitted voluntarily to their old masters, and quietly returned to their former labours." 1 Vol. p. 511.

He cites no authority for this most incredible representation, and from whatever source it was derived, we venture to affirm it is essentially and grossly erroneous. The following is the account given of the same event by Capt. Stedman, a writer of undoubted information on the subject, and we believe of the first authority among the historians of the Dutch colonies. "Not only a regiment of marines, commanded by colonel de Salse, which now belongs to general Douglass, was sent over from Holland to that settlement, but troops also from the neighbouring colonies were despatched, in order to subdue the revolt. In this design they soon succeeded, since the woods in that part being of small extent are easily penetrated, which prevents the rebels from forming settlements; and since from the same cause they will not serve to conceal them from their pursuers. The consequence was, that after numbers had been shot dead, and others taken prisoners, the rest were forced to surrender at discretion and implore for mercy, or they must have been starved to death for want of subsistence." Stedman's Hist. of the wars in Surinam. 1 Vol. p. 71.

Let it be observed, that Capt. Stedman had in this statement no hypothesis to support; but Mr. B. is reasoning to prove that the negroes of St. Domingo might be brought to submit again to their former slavery.

On the whole we regard Mr. B. as a writer of great talents, and one who is well able to extend the bounds of political science in a way beneficial to mankind. We regret, therefore, that he seems to have drank deep of a poisonous prejudice which too much characterizes the practical as well as speculative politics of the age; and we hope that his vigorous understanding will deliver him from the fatal influence, and teach him to search for national utility, where alone any genuine and lasting good, private or public, can be found; in the paths of moral rectitude.

In point of composition, this work is neither liable to material censure nor entitled to distinguishing praise. The author shews himself, in many places, capable of a more elegant and accurate style than he has in general used; but he might reasonably think, that his topics were such as would interest without ornament; and some of them had a temporary importance, which forbade him to lose time in the choice of happy expressions, or pleasing and tasteful arrangement. His style is, in general, that of a man mainly intent upon his subject, in haste to communicate his thoughts, and less anxious to please than to persuade.

To hurry on at the expense of method and perspicuity is, however, al-

ways a false economy of time; and into this error our author's haste has sometimes betrayed him. He is especially deficient in clearness of expression, in a place where perspicuity is of the greatest importance, in an introductory chapter, of which the sole purpose is to describe his plan and general method. So far is this from being a good and clear analysis of the work, that, for the ingenious author's sake, we must caution the reader not to be discouraged at the outset of his tour by the apparent perplexities of the map. He will find the country by no means so difficult as the draughtsman's confused outline seems to threaten; and notwithstanding the much which we have been compelled freely to condemn by the way, there will be found much more of useful information, original conception, and forcible remark, to reward perseverance in the journey.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS, *&c. &c.*

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

I GIVE you entire credit for having conscientiously endeavoured to perform your original promise, of abstaining from any decision on the points at issue between orthodox Calvinists and orthodox Non-calvinists. The consequences of your impartiality have been such as were to be expected. Warm Calvinists decry you as an Arminian. Their equally warm opponents brand you as a Calvinist. But what is the prevailing opinion among moderate men, who really mean to judge exclusively according to the evidence which they conceive to be furnished by your work? I speak not on very slender experience, nor with reference to the sentiments of unimportant characters, when I express my conviction, that, on the whole, that prevailing opinion assuredly pronounces your publication calvinistic. Are you surprised at this assertion? Bear with me, then, while I point out some circumstances which may lessen your surprise. In pointing them out, let me not be regarded as implying either praise or blame, but simply as delivering a statement of facts.

First, then, your first review, in your first number, was a detailed examination of the work of Mr. Overton; who, whether with reason or without, is generally considered as the champion of Calvinism and Calvinists in the establishment. That examination was prolonged through several succeeding numbers, at far greater length than you have assigned to other articles reviewed; and, with the exception of the last number, to which I shall speedily advert, in a style which betokened universal approbation. Secondly, the only two individuals, with whom you have become engaged in open controversy, are Dr. Kipling and Mr. Daubeny, divines distinguished as antagonists of Calvinism. Thirdly, The Anti-Jacobin Review, another object of your warfare, and your avowed enemy, is conspicuous for opposition to the tenets of Calvin. Fourthly, It has happened to you frequently to take a remarkably active part in defending Calvinism and Calvinists against real or supposed misrepresentations. Fifthly, When your correspondents have been led to intimate their own sentiments on the controverted points, concerning which, in your official capacity, you profess neutrality, those sentiments have, in most instances, been calvinistic. For those sentiments you are not responsible; nor ought a calvinistic writer, when he favours you with a communication, to feel himself (unless that communication be a review) in the slightest degree restrained from developing his own tenets. But the circumstance in question naturally affects, to common eyes, the general complexion of your work.

I know, Sir, that the concluding number of your review of Mr. Overton was very unsatisfactory to many of your calvinistic readers, whose expectations had been extremely raised by your antecedent remarks. I know too that the high praise which you gave to the sermons of Mr. Gisborne, a writer con-

fessedly non-calvinistic, was considerably offensive to Calvinists; and that your quotation of an anti-calvinistic passage from his book, merely for the purpose of laying a fair picture of his opinions before the public, was unjustly censured as a departure from your promised neutrality. But you will agree with me, that these incidents can by no means counterbalance the weight which I have described as thrown into the opposite scale. My earnest wishes are, that you may not only be impartial, but may cautiously avoid even the semblance of partiality. Φιλος.

November, 1803.

SINCE the letter of this candid correspondent reached us, we have resolved to insert the following communication, in the hope that it may serve to place the subject, on which Φιλος has addressed us, in a less partial light. It was not intended for publication, and was also too long for insertion: we had therefore laid it aside; but on receiving the letter of Φιλος, we were induced to take it again into consideration. We now lay it before our readers with very considerable abridgments.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

BEING interested for the success of your work, because, whatever may be its defects, it appears to me to contend earnestly for many essential points of the *faith delivered to the saints*, I take the liberty of communicating to you some of the opinions which are expressed respecting the conduct of it in the circle in which I move. If you can turn the information to any useful purpose, my end in addressing you will be fully answered.

I ought to premise, however, that I am myself, what is called, a moderate Calvinist; and that my opportunities of religious conversation are chiefly with persons who entertain sentiments similar to my own . . . . . .

A very respectable clergyman in my neighbourhood, who lately favoured me with his sentiments of your work, expressed himself nearly to the following effect:—"The Prospectus of the Christian Observer raised in me a sanguine hope of seeing a work established, which should defend the genuine doctrines of the Church, and I warmly exerted myself to extend its circulation. But my disappointment, and that of many of my friends, was very great, at finding the work prove in the end to be no better than an Arminian magazine. The pretensions of its conductors to moderation, assumed in the vain hope of pleasing all parties, will impose, doubtless, on many; but they have no claim to be regarded as true members of the Church of England. She is not Arminian. The Christian Observer (I do not mean every writer in it, but its conductors, and particularly the reviewer of Overton and Gisborne,) is Arminian. I make no doubt they will find many to encourage their publication; for Arminian sentiments are very palatable to the great body of the clergy, but certainly *I* cannot, in conscience, give them my support."

My friend proceeded to observe, that besides your absolute silence with respect to the *peculiar* features of Calvin's system, which could only arise from a studied exclusion of such papers as insisted upon them, there were many passages which tended directly to undermine that system. He instanced the expositions of Matt. xxi. 14. (Vol. I. p. 414,) of Exod. ix. 16. (Vol. I. p. 559,) and of Rom. vii. 14. (Vol. II. p. 268:) these he termed perversions of scripture. He pointed to the Queries of C. C. (Vol. I. p. 577,) and to some of the answers to them, (Vol. II. pp. 136 and 209) and to the Queries also of a *Serious Inquirer*, (Vol. II. p. 13,) as clearly indicating partiality; and to the papers in the first volume, p. 430 and 704, and to those in the second volume, p. 137, 342, and 413, as conclusive evidence (the last particularly) of hostility to Calvinism; a point which he maintained to be further confirmed by several passages in your description of *modern characters*.

These proofs I replied were by no means satisfactory, being all drawn from the papers of correspondents, for whose sentiments you professed not to be reponsible. My friend, however, denied that there was any weight in my objection, so long as the power of ex-

clusion remained in your hands; a power which he said he knew you had freely exercised with respect to the papers of some Calvinists. It was not necessary, however, he added, to resort to disputable evidence in support of his charge, as it was fully substantiated by what had fallen from your own pen. He cited, as examples, the denial of the doctrine of reprobation, (Vol. I. p. 306, and Vol. II. p. 99;) the affirmation of the doctrine of general redemption, and the admission that strong Calvinism is not held by the Church of England, (Vol. I. p. 306;) the unmerited commendation given to Arminianism, (Vol. I. p. 797;) the unguarded expressions as to the extent of Christ's satisfaction, (Vol. II. p. 31;) and the attempt to fritter away the plain and obvious meaning of Rom. vii. 14; to say nothing, in this place, of the review of Overton's work and Gisborne's Sermons, on which he largely insisted, but of which I shall have occasion myself presently to speak.

The defence of Calvinists from the misrepresentations of their adversaries, he said, was not in your circumstances to be avoided, the slanders being frequently too gross to be overlooked, with any hope of retaining a character for impartiality; but yet you always appeared to him exceedingly dexterous in contriving, while you attempted to raise the individual whom you defended into estimation, to sink their distinguishing tenets somewhat lower in the scale of doctrinal importance.

I certainly did not concur with my friend in most of these remarks; nor should I myself have been disposed to cite many of the above examples as proofs of your Arminianism; not only because I agree with you in holding that general redemption is affirmed, and that the doctrine of reprobation is not maintained in our articles; but because I think it right to allow a considerable latitude of opinion to your correspondents, and because I do not perceive any remarkable proofs of partiality in your admission of their contributions. I have been particular, however, in communicating to you the opinions of my friend, because I believe it to be a pretty fair specimen of the views entertained of your work by such of your readers as concur with him in their doctrinal opinions.

But although I and many of my brethren, who are more moderate in our sentiments, do not go quite so far as my friend in condemning your conduct, yet we are by no means satisfied with your neutrality. Indeed, from the time I read the review of Overton and that of Gisborne, I have considered you as justly liable to be taxed with a departure from your avowed indifference to the tenets peculiar to Arminianism and Calvinism, and as decidedly, though moderately, Arminian. I question whether any tenet is avowed in your work, to which Arminius himself would not have acceded; and in the reviews in question you seem to me to favour his peculiarities.

The circumstances in the review of Overton's book, which have chiefly contributed to produce this impression in my mind are, your evident anxiety to prove the Church of England not Calvinistic; your unnecessary and unseasonable digression to those partial views of Christianity which prevail in some religious circles; your elaborate exposure of the minute faults of that excellent work; and the cold and guarded commendation you bestow upon it. But in your review of Gisborne's Sermons, you appear to me, notwithstanding your subsequent explanations (Vol. I. p. 553,) to have departed still more from the line of neutrality, which you originally and very properly promised to maintain.

In advancing this charge, I have immediately in view your introduction, without any censure, of an extract from Mr. Gisborne's Sermons, (Vol. I. p. 372,) evidently levelled at what the author *supposes* to be Calvinism. This certainly looks like a departure from strict neutrality; for I can see no reason, if you were really desirous of acting a fair and impartial part, why you should have lost so convenient an opportunity of stating, what you must know to be the genuine sentiments of all sober and judicious Calvinists. You might have thus expressed yourself. "By many of his readers Mr. Gisborne will

be supposed to level, what he says on the subject of ascribing 'delusive offers to the Most High' at Calvinism. With whatever truth these words may be applied to the system avowed by certain supra-lapsarian divines, it is but justice in us, who wish to be *mediators* and not *parties* in the controversy, to remark that they are not fairly applicable to the sublapsarian hypothesis adopted by all sober and intelligent Calvinists of the present day; who think they sufficiently disembarrass themselves from all such consequences, by that distinction between a moral and a natural inability, which they conceive not more founded in the nature of things than recognised in every page of scripture." Or if unwilling to enter so much into detail you might have remarked, that "many Calvinists so explain their sentiments that this passage does not affect them." . . . . .
On reading over my letter, I am doubtful whether you may not mistake my meaning, when I speak of myself and brethren as Calvinists. I wish you to understand, that it is only in conformity with common language that I have adopted this designation. More accurately speaking we are Augustinians rather than Calvinists; for very few, I believe, within the establishment, hold all Calvin's doctrines, neither most clearly does the Church of England. G. S. O. P. M.

We are obliged to both our correspondents for their friendly expostulations; but we think it necessary, with the view of obviating mis conception, to subjoin a few remarks on what has fallen from them.

We readily admit that there appears, at first sight, to be much force in what Φιλος has said; but in order to ascertain its real amount, it may be proper to notice distinctly each of the five reasons which he has produced, as affording a ground for imputing to us a predilection for Calvinism.

1. The lengthened analysis of Mr. Overton's work, which appeared in our first numbers, may have been injudicious, but it affords, we apprehend, no evidence of a party spirit. It was intended to put our readers fairly in possession of a variety of important questions, which Mr. Overton's book professed to discuss and to decide. Mr. Overton is made to speak for himself throughout the whole of that analysis, which is not interrupted by a single expression either of praise or blame, excepting a few words signifying our agreement with the author in the opinion he has given, that our articles were not framed on the precise theological system of John Calvin. No other mark of approbation occurs in the course of four numbers, except in the first four lines of the review, viz. "This work is evidently the result of much careful and laborious research, and is executed with ability and candour." We mention the circumstance with no view of detracting from the merited commendation we thought ourselves called upon, in our fifth number, to bestow on Mr. O.'s work; but to shew that, in the four first numbers of our review, on which Φιλος says the charge of undue partiality to that writer is grounded, nothing occurs to substantiate the charge. Our concluding remarks can alone be referred to as indicating our sentiments on the points discussed by Mr. Overton; and these, it will be found, are so far from proving our Calvinism, that by Calvinists, who must best know their own system, they are adduced, we think without reason, as clear evidence of our Arminianism.

2. Our controversy with Dr. Kipling arose, not from his Anti-calvinism, but from the necessity we were under of exposing the weakness of his reasoning and the unfairness of his representations, and of reprehending the acrimony of his style. Our dispute with Mr. Daubeny, into which we entered with great unwillingness, involved no question in any way connected with Calvinism.

3. We trust that, in discerning minds, the hostility of the Anti-jacobin Reviewers will operate little to our disadvantage; since they are not more opposed to the tenets of Calvin than they have shewn themselves to be, on several occasions, to points which every pious Arminian holds to be essential to salvation, and especially to that *charity which suffereth long and is kind, doth not behave itself unseemly, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, and rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth.* We must be content to resign those to their prejudices who regard the hostility of the Anti-jacobin reviewers, as a proof of our Calvinism.

4. When worthy men are maligned merely because they are thought to be Calvinsts, or when their tenets are misrepresented, or charged with practical consequences, which they unequivocally disavow and condemn, we deem it an essential duty to undertake their vindication. We shall be no less ready, however, to rescue the pious Arminian from any censure which may attach to him merely on the ground of his Arminianism, as well as to detect any misrepresentations of the tendency of that system which may fall in our way. It has happened, indeed, since the commencement of our labours, that the adversaries of Arminianism have given us little opportunity of rectifying their misapprehensions, or blaming their vehemence: while the war has been carried on against Calvinism with much heat and asperity, and, we may add, occasionally, with great ignorance of the real merits of the question at issue.

There is a species of sophistry which has been successfully practised by writers of no mean name in the present day, but which it especially becomes the Christian Observer to expose and detect, with whatever obloquy the execution of the duty may be attended. We mean the dishonest art of bestowing some obnoxious name upon the particular tenets which it is the object of an author to attack. Thus have the advocates for the abolition of the slave trade been vilified as Jacobins; and thus have some of the most essential doctrines of our holy religion been attacked through the sides of Calvinism. But shall we abandon the defence and assertion of these doctrines—original sin, salvation by grace, justification by faith, and sanctification by the holy spirit; the absolute necessity of the renewal of the human heart in the image of God, of mortification to the world, and of entire devotedness to the service of Christ, merely because Mr. Fellowes, Dr. Gleig, Dr. Croft, the Anti-jacobin Reviewers, or some others, of whom we had hoped better things, choose to render the defence of any or all of these doctrines difficult or invidious, by confounding them with the peculiarities of Calvin?

An attentive observer will likewise not fail to discover, that the stigma of Calvinism is often incurred by individuals who have no title to be so designated; and that, consequently, those who may have occasion to plead their cause will be involved in the same condemnation. There is, certainly, a great impropriety in the appropriation of this name to many of the individuals within the Church who have obtained it. And it is a curious fact, that the Anti-jacobin Reviewers did not, for a long time, discover, (if they have yet discovered) that the followers of Mr. Wesley, (called by way of distinction the Arminian Methodists) were not Calvinists.

5. The preponderance of Calvinism or Arminianism in the writings of our correspondents seems to be a question between Φιλος and G. S. O. P. M. We must leave our readers to decide it for themselves.

We shall confine our notice of the letter of G. S. O. P. M. to the two points on which he himself insists. We do not mean to enter upon the defence of our review of Overton's work: the subjects which it involves are too wide and complicated. A presumption of our impartiality in that review arises, however, from the dissatisfaction it seems to have given both to Calvinists and Arminians. We confess that we never entertained a hope in our review of that publication of satisfying either party.

With respect to the review of Gisborne's Sermons, we should have thought our former explanation (Vol. I. p. 373) sufficient. We shall add to it one remark. There are certainly, persons to be found, to whom the charge of "ascribing delusive offers to the Most High" may be applied. G. S. O. P. M. admits that there are. Mr. Gisborne then only attacked an error which is acknowledged even by moderate Calvinists to exist, and which is unquestionably of dangerous tendency. Whence, may we not therefore ask, arises the alarm which his attack has raised among them? Only, as it would appear, from a too jealous apprehension of being themselves implicated in the charge. Had the same sentiment been uttered by a Calvinist, it would have excited no emotion in their breasts; they would have pointed it without hesitation against the Antinomian. But surely an Arminian may be supposed to point his weapon directly at Antinomianism as well as a Calvinist.

To conclude. Our original object in the work we have undertaken was to promote the peace and purity of the church, and this object, we say it without hesitation, notwithstanding the suspicion of party views which has attached to us, we have continued uniformly to pursue. Our earnest prayer is, "That God would give us all grace to put away from us all rancour of religious dissension; that they who agree in the essentials of our most holy faith, and look for pardon through the merits and intercession of the Saviour, may, notwithstanding their differences upon points of doubtful opinion, and in the forms of external worship, still be united in the bonds of Christian charity; and fulfil his blessed Son's commandment of loving one another as he hath loved them."

LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL INTELLIGENCE, *&c. &c.*

GREAT BRITAIN.

In the press, a new edition of Grainger's *Biographical History of England*, in 4 vols. 8vo. on fine wove paper, with a capital Portrait of the author; with a *Supplement* to the 4 vols. by an eminent collector.—The *Posthumous Works* of Henry Hunter, D. D. in three vols. 8vo.—New editions, by Mr. William Jones, of Adam's *Geometrical and Graphical Essays*, and his *Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy*, both considerably improved.—*A History of Animal Chemistry*, with a copious Index: by Mr. W. B. Johnson, in 3 vols. 8vo.—*Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Darwin*, in one vol. 8vo. by Miss Seward.—A third volume of the *Life and Writings of W. Cowper, Esq.* consisting of original letters, edited by Mr. Hayley; and a new edition of the first and second volumes.—*A new System of Farriery*, including the improved mode of treatment and prescriptions recommended by the Veterinary College in every disease of difficult management, with plates by Mr. Ferou, veterinary surgeon to the thirteenth re-

giment of light dragoons.—A new and improved edition of Byron's *Short Hand*, edited by Mr. Molineaux, of Macclesfield.

Mr. Thomas Mortimer, formerly British Vice Consul at Ostend, is preparing for the press an interesting work, in one vol. royal quarto, with numerous elegant plates, entitled *Historical and Biographical Memoirs of the Jews in Great Britain, from the Era of their First Establishment to the present time;* in which will be introduced a review of the national advantages in respect to commerce, public credit, and financial resources, which result from the protection and encouragement which the Jews enjoy under our excellent constitution; contrasted with the persecutions, prohibitions, and restrictions, to which they are subjected in other countries on the continent of Europe.

The *Posthumous Works* of Mr. Archibald Arthur, late Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, will speedily be published. They consist of Discourses, Theological and Literary. Some account of the Life and Character of the author will be given, by Professor Richardson, of the same university.

Seeds, when not sufficiently ripe, will swim; but when arrived at full maturity, will fall to the bottom.

FRANCE.

M. Cathala, a French architect, has invented a method of employing tiles for the roofs of houses, by which one half of the quantity usually required for that purpose is sufficient. The tiles are made of a square, instead of an oblong form. The hook by which they are fastened is at one of the angles, so that when fastened to the lathes they lie diagonally. Every tile is covered one fifth part on each of its upper edges by the row above. A Mr. Chiffney obtained a patent in London, some little time since, for laying slates in a similar manner.

NORTH AMERICA.

A Board of Agriculture has been established at Philadelphia. The establishment of such a society was a favourite measure with the late General Washington.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

It appears by the last letters from Capt. Baudin, who is employed by the French Government on a voyage of discovery, that the population of Port Jackson, and the adjacent places occupied by the English, amounts to six thousand persons, who are chiefly employed in agriculture. The natives have retired to the interior of the country in proportion as the English have advanced into it. They are, however, frequently met with, but never in considerable numbers. They have lost but little of their primitive habits. The live stock has so much increased, that in the month of August 1802, there were reckoned 800 bulls, 3,600 cows, 6,000 sheep, 1,800 goats, and more than 10,000 hogs.

It is no small proof of the flourishing state of our settlement in New South Wales, that it is able to support a weekly newspaper. A publication of this description has been recently established. We regret to observe, that, after a few numbers had been published, the original day of publication was changed, upon pretext of convenience, to Sunday. It seems to betray lamentable supineness in the government of a colony so peculiarly circumstanced, that it should thus suffer the sanctions of religion to be weakened.

☞ *The List of New Publications is unavoidably deferred.*

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

By letters received from the Missionaries at Otaheite, dated October 1802, it appears that they were in good health.

Mr. Kicherer, one of the Missionaries who has been employed among the *Hottentots* near the Cape of Good Hope, has arrived in this country accompanied by three Hottentot converts, whose conversation is said to indicate a very considerable progress in religious knowledge, while their general deportment shews, that that knowledge has had its proper and corresponding influence on their character and conduct.

Mr. Kicherer reports, that a Missionary of the name of Kock had been sent, by the Missionary Society at the Cape, to the *Briquas* or *Pitsoouas*, seven days journey from the Orange River, whose account, after residing for a year among these people, is to the following effect.

"The Briquas are more civilized than the other tribes in that part of Africa. They raise some corn, and live in large villages built with regularity. Their language is easily acquired. Their chief is favourable to the mission, and expressed a willingness himself to receive instruction; and a similar disposition was manifested by many of the people." In consequence of these and other encouraging appearances, the society had resolved to send three more Missionaries into that country, and Messrs. Lumbert, Jansy, and W. Korter were chosen for that purpose.

Letters have been received from Tartary, dated Sept. 26th, which give a favourable account of the progress of the mission sent thither by the Edinburgh Society. Mr. Brunton's family, together with some additional Missionaries, had joined the mission. We hope in our next to give more particular details respecting this interesting experiment.

VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

FRANCE.

Twenty-five vessels which belonged to the French flotilla of invasion, were discovered on the 16th inst. stealing along the coast from Cape La Hogue to Cherbourg, by La Poulette sloop of war and the Liberty brig, which gave them chase and drove the whole of them, it is said, on the rocks. The boats of the English vessels succeeded, however, in bringing off three of the enemy's flotilla without sustaining any mischief.

The First Consul is said to have left Paris, in order to superintend the embarkation of his troops; and it is added, in one of the Hamburgh papers, that orders have been issued, when the French shall have effected a landing in England, to hoist the red flag, and issue a proclamation that no quarter will be given.

The French Government have determined on dismantling Brussels and thirty-nine other towns of Belgium, and rasing their fortifications.

TURKEY.

The accounts from Egypt are somewhat contradictory; but they unite in representing the situation of that country as truly deplorable. The Beys are said to have raised the siege of Alexandria, for the purpose of saving Cairo from the threatened attack of Abdul Wechab, who, at the head of a vast army, after having defeated the force sent against him in Arabia, threatened to lay waste Egypt, if his authority was not acknowledged by the Beys.

WEST INDIES.

The accounts from St. Domingo continue to represent the French cause as absolutely desperate. Disease and famine unite with the negroes in daily thinning the ranks of the French army. Rochambeau is said to express his determination to keep possession of the Cape till the last blood-hound is eaten.

Agents from the Negro Chiefs are said to have arrived at Jamaica with a view of settling the terms of an amicable intercourse with the English; and we are happy to find, that no intention appears to be entertained on the part of our government of occupying any posts in that island. The consolidation of a black power in the West Indies opens an extensive field for speculations, respecting its probable influence on the colonial system of the European powers. We, who regard that system as radically vicious, and as involving this nation in a very high degree of blood-guiltiness—as affording, in short, a probable explanation of all those providential inflictions which, as a nation, we either experience or fear, cannot but regard with pleasure any event which holds forth a prospect, however remote, of its amelioration.

Thirteen armed schooners from Guadaloupe, having seven hundred men on board, destined to the attack of ANTIGUA, were met by an English frigate on the 5th of September. Three of them were taken, and the rest driven under the batteries of Guadaloupe.

Advices have been received of the capture, by his Majesty's arms, of the colonies of DEMERARA and ESSEQUIBO, on the 19th of September. If we could persuade ourselves, that these successes were not a prelude to a great enlargement of the Slave Trade, and to a proportionable accumulation of the national guilt, our pleasure in contemplating them would be more unmixed. Our present minister has declared, on several occasions, his desire to prevent every unnecessary extension of the slave system. We should rejoice if he would, on this occasion, prove the sincerity of his declaration by prohibiting, as might easily be done by an order of council, the importation of slaves into these colonies. A regard to consistency requires from him the adoption of this measure; a measure which is equally demanded by considerations of national policy; since the transfer of British capital to our recent conquests will only serve, in the event of peace, to swell the commercial resources of our enemies; and in any case to raise up a rival which cannot fail to prove ruinous in the end to our old colonies.

We are sorry to hear, that some additional regiments have been ordered to the West Indies, that grave of our gallant soldiery.

GREAT BRITAIN.

ON the 22nd instant, the session of parliament was opened, by the following most gracious speech of his Majesty to both Houses.

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"Since I last met you in parliament, it has been my chief object to carry into effect those measures which your wisdom had adopted for the defence of the united kingdom, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. In these preparations I have been seconded by the voluntary exertions of all ranks of my people, in a manner that has, if possible, strengthened their claims to my confidence and affection: they have proved that the menaces of the enemy have only served to rouse their native and hereditary spirit; and that all other considerations are lost in a general disposition to make those efforts and sacrifices which the honour and safety of the kingdom demand at this important and critical conjuncture.

"Though my attention has principally been directed to the great object of internal security, no opportunity has been lost of making an impression on the foreign possessions of

the enemy. The islands of *St. Lucia*, of *Tobago*, of *St. Pierre*, and *Miquelon*, and the settlements of *Demerara* and *Essequibo*, have surrendered to the British arms. In the conduct of the operations by which those valuable acquisitions have been made, the utmost promptitude and zeal have been displayed by the officers employed on those services, and by my forces acting under their command by sea and land.

"In Ireland, the leaders, and several inferior agents, in the late traitorous and atrocious conspiracy have been brought to justice; and the public tranquillity has experienced no further interruption. I indulge the hope, that such of my deluded subjects as have swerved from their allegiance are now convinced of their error; and that having compared the advantages they derive from the protection of a free constitution, with the condition of those countries which are under the dominion of the French Government, they will cordially and zealously concur in resisting any attempt that may be made against the security and independence of my united kingdom.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"I have a perfect reliance on your public spirit for making such provision as may be necessary for the service of the year. The progressive improvement of the revenue cannot fail to encourage you to persevere in the system which has been adopted, of defraying the expenses of the war, with as little addition as possible to the public debt, and to the permanent burdens of the state.

"I lament the heavy pressure which, under the present circumstances, must unavoidably be experienced by my people; but I am persuaded that they will meet it with the good sense and fortitude which so eminently distinguish their character, under a conviction of the indispensable importance of upholding the dignity, and of providing effectually for the safety of the empire.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I have concluded a convention with the King of Sweden, for the purpose of adjusting all the differences which have arisen on the subject of the eleventh article of the treaty of 1661. I have directed that a copy of this convention should be laid before you; and you will, I trust, be of opinion that the arrangement, whilst it upholds our maritime rights, is founded on those principles of reciprocal advantage which are best calculated to maintain and improve the good understanding which happily subsists between the two countries.

"In the prosecution of the contest in which we are engaged, it shall be, as it has ever been, my first object to execute as becomes me, the great trust committed to my charge. Embarked with my brave and loyal people in one common cause, it is my fixed determination, if the occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers in the defence of our constitution, our religion, our laws, and independence. To the activity and valour of my fleets and armies, to the zeal and unconquerable spirit of my faithful subjects, I confide the honour of my crown, and all those valuable interests which are involved in the issue of this momentous contest.

"Actuated by these sentiments, and humbly imploring the blessing of Divine Providence, I look forward with a firm conviction, that if, contrary to all just expectation, the enemy should elude the vigilance of my numerous fleets and cruisers, and attempt to execute their presumptuous threat of invading our coasts, the consequence will be to them, discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace; and that our's will not only be the glory of surmounting present difficulties, and repelling immediate danger, but the solid and permanent advantage of fixing the safety and independence of the kingdom on the basis of acknowledged strength, the result of its own tried energy and resources."

An address, in terms corresponding with the speech, was voted in both houses without occasioning any debate.

Every thing is said to be preparing for his Majesty's hoisting his standard, the moment the alarm is given of an enemy appearing upon the coast.

The following are the general orders issued by the Duke of York, subsequent to the review of the volunteers by his Majesty in Hyde Park, on the 26th and 28th ult.

"*Horse Guards, Oct. 29,* 1803.

"His Royal Highness the commander in chief has received the king's command to convey to the several volunteer and associated corps, which were reviewed in Hyde Park on the 26th and 28th instant, his Majesty's highest approbation of their appearance, which has equalled his Majesty's utmost expectation.

"His Majesty perceives, with heartfelt satisfaction, that the spirit of loyalty and patriotism, on which the system of the armed volunteers throughout the kingdom was originally founded, has risen with the exigencies of the times, and at this moment forms such a bulwark to the constitution and liberties of the country, as will enable us, under the protection of Providence, to bid defiance to the unprovoked malice of our enemies, and to hurl back with becoming indignation, the threats which they have presumed to vent against our independence, and even our existence as a nation.

"His Majesty has observed, with peculiar pleasure, that, amongst the unprecedented exertions which the present circumstances of the country have called forth, those of the capital of his united kingdom have been eminently conspicuous; the appearance of its numerous and well-regulated volunteer corps, which were reviewed on the 26th and 28th inst. indicates a degree of attention and emu-

lation, both in officers and men, which can proceed only from the deep sense of the important objects for which they have enrolled themselves, a just estimation of the blessings we have so long enjoyed, and a firm and manly determination to defend them like Britons, and transmit them unimpaired to our posterity.

"The commander in chief has the highest satisfaction in discharging his duty, by communicating these his Majesty's most gracious sentiments, and requests that the commanding officers will have recourse to the readiest means of making the same known to their respective corps.

"FREDERIC, Commander in Chief."

OBITUARY.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

HAVING intimated (Chris. Observ. Vol. I. p. 687), my intention of sending to you some account of my four adult children, whom it has pleased God to remove from me; and having experienced your kind attention to the three accounts which I have already sent, my delay in sending the fourth seems to require an apology.

The truth is, I was afraid of being too obtrusive upon the patience of your readers, by such multiplied anecdotes of my own family. Having now reason to hope, by intimations from different quarters, that the completion of my design will prove agreeable to many who are constant readers of your miscellany, I proceed to finish the plan which I proposed in my first letter.

The youngest of my departed sons, (as he afterwards assured us when in the immediate views of death) had many religious impressions upon his mind during his childhood; but no solid change of heart seemed to take place till about the fourteenth year of his age.—When a little boy, he was artful and selfish. His capacity was quick; but he wanted the openness and friendliness of his brother, of whom I last sent you an account. They were companions at school and at the university, for they both made choice of the ministry; though that choice was made in a full view of its being a renunciation of all worldly prospects for Christ's sake. This idea I pressed strongly upon their minds. When, by the power of divine grace, their hearts were renewed in righteousness, they became united by the most intimate friendship and tender affection towards each other. The following letter written by the younger to the elder, when they were school-boys, shews the foundation of their friendship, and manifests the state of the writer's mind.

He was at this time in his fifteenth year, and was about to follow his brother, who had a short time before been removed to H———. It was written after an interview with each other amongst some friends. The simplicity of the style must be excused.

"Dear J——,

"I was much obliged to you for your wishing to have been able to speak to me on subjects of a religious kind. I often desired it, but one thing or other hindered it. I plainly perceived you would second me in any thing towards the welfare of my soul. I am glad I have an opportunity, by Mr. D——, to thank you for your kind letter which I received at T——. It was more pleasant than one on any other subject. I read it over and over, and I hope it did me much good. Oh! it is a hard thing to be truly humble, so much pride in one thing and another. I try to suppress it as much as I can by passages of scripture. I pray to God to help me to do it, and I trust I shall in some measure conquer it. I think of these passages. Man is only sinful dust and ashes—a poor worm of the earth. Humble thyself under the mighty hand of God, and he shall exalt thee in due time. So much vanity lies in the heart; prayer seems the best means to conquer it: prayer with diligence and faith. I have looked diligently, and I think I have perceived many things in which God has answered me. I am often troubled with wicked thoughts, yet God in general gives me to conquer them. How delightful is it to meditate on the love of Christ, and to seem to have a view of him with all the holy angels with him in heaven. It makes one wish to depart from this sinful world, and go to him, there to be with him face to face, serving him without ceasing day and night, and to be the sons of God. This is, indeed, such a privilege as no human heart can be aware of. When one's mind seems to grow weary in well doing, then these words are very cheering, *Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life*," &c.

The greatest part of his life was passed in a state of affliction, as may be seen from the following general account of his trials. When he was about six years old, he had the misfortune to receive a violent blow upon his head, which separated part of the scalp from the bone. During the progress of healing, the glands in his neck, on the injured side, became enlarged, and after the wound was healed the disease extended itself to the opposite side of the neck. Repeated attacks of this disease took place, year after year, on which account it was judged proper that he should spend a considerable part of the summer season either at the sea, or an inland watering place. The latter seemed peculiarly useful to him, and was chiefly the place of his abode. There he promoted the establishment of Sunday schools, which he superintended with great diligence; and he there contracted a great friendship for two or three poor pious men, who were employed as masters

Besides the affliction which I have mentioned, he was subject to violent headachs, especially upon any close mental application. This disorder proved a great impediment to his learning: yet such was his capacity and application at school and at the university, that he obtained two classical prizes in his own college, and was placed on an equality with the first of his year for mathematical knowledge.

Before he left the university a general debility supervened, so that he was at last obliged to forego his disputations in the schools, as he was unable either to prepare for this exercise, or to stand for the purpose of carrying it on. He was carried in a chair to the senate house, when he took his degree of bachelor of arts.

After quitting the university he was unable to attend to any discourse that was long, or that required close application of mind in the hearer. An attempt to exercise his mental powers in this way brought on immediately a headach, and an increase of his general debility

During the winter, after he returned home, he went out frequently in an open carriage, which he preferred to a close one; but the severity of the weather, after some time affected his breast with a sense of soreness. A spitting of blood came on, which was soon succeeded by a cough and a confirmed consumption, of which he died in May following.

But to return. When he was at school with the Reverend Mr. R——, he was exercised in the excellent customs of writing down the sermon after his return from church, and keeping a journal of his private thoughts and common transactions, with a promise from his master that these secret papers should never be inspected by him. I repeatedly saw these journals lying amongst his papers when he was at home; but I scrupulously abstained from inspecting them. He continued this custom as long as he was able to write; but during his last illness he destroyed all that he had written previously to his going to the university. The remainder he gave to one of his sisters, with the following note prefixed.

"Some of my journals I have burnt, because there was too much talk and too little sincerity. As far as I know myself, these are more sincere; but they should be called R. H——'s good wishes, and not the account of the state of his soul. Read them so, and if they do you good, I shall be glad of it. Your affectionate brother."

In his nineteenth year, while he was yet at school, he made a solemn dedication of himself to God; aad in that transaction made use of the shorter form proposed by the pious Dr. Doddridge, adding a sentence relative to his intended future employment in the ministry. This solemn instrument was kept secret from his most intimate friends, but was found amongst his private papers after his death.

The change wrought in him by divine grace, truly exemplified the description of a real Christian given by the apostle, *If any man be in Christ, he is a* NEW CREATURE. 2 Cor. v. 17. Instead of the low cunning and selfishness, which prevailed in him when a boy, he became open, generous, and affectionate; and while his attentions to those who were about him partook of an easy politeness, he manifested on all occasions a considerable degree of heavenly-mindedness. His real character will be clearly discerned by the following extracts from his journals, and the minutes of conversations with his most intimate friends and relations. His views of his own spiritual state were not always alike. His disorder often created a depression of spirits, which cast a gloom upon his spiritual comforts, though it did not always destroy his cheerfulness.

Soon after his arrival at the university, in the conclusion of his nineteenth year, he made the following observations in his journal:—"Hither am I come to finish my studies for the ministry. O Lord, impress it upon my mind, that I am now preparing to be thy servant, to speak in thy name to those who are enemies to thee. Since I came hither I set apart an evening to look over my act of self-dedication, with a design to direct my views aright. I rejoice that I made that act. O that I had kept it with more sincerity, zeal, and love. Lord, by thy grace, I resolve to seek thy face, and be thy servant, and seek the salvation of my soul through my Redeemer, notwithstanding the scoffs and jests of a profane and wicked world. O grant me sincerity, and lead me in the right way; and teach me in all my ways to acknowledge thee, so shalt thou direct my paths."

After he had been about three months at the university, he took a review of his conduct, his studies, and the temper of his mind. In this part of his journal, I find the following declaration:—"I think, as far as I can discover of my heart, I would love my Saviour, and consent more and more to his dominion over me. There is a strong body of sin yet in me. My Saviour, I come to thee without money and without price, hoping for thy merciful aid to enlighten my eyes that I may know thee. As the all-wise Providence of God has placed me here, let me consider the duties more particularly incumbent on me."

These duties he enumerates, and then adds,—"O Lord, teach me this, that laying aside every besetting sin, I may run with patience the race set before me. The more I grow in grace, and the knowledge of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the more pure and blameless will my conduct be; and the more fitted shall I be for the important office of the ministry. May I here count the cost, and place to the account, labour, and difficulty, contempt, disgrace, and all the trials which those have experienced, who have stood up in their master's cause, remembering that he suffered too. Yet, on the other side, I must place the abundant recompense of the Gospel."

On the following Christmas-day he writes thus—"O my God, whom I have sworn to serve, and to look up to in all my ways, do thou condescend to direct my path. I hope I can cheerfully submit to thy will, rejoicing that thou art pleased to take any notice of me thy unworthy servant. I have this day looked over my solemn covenant with thee, and confirm it anew at thy table, Lord, I humbly implore thee, call me not into judgment for my many breaches of it, but strengthen me with divine power and energy, that I may observe it with readiness and constancy, and that an affecting remembrance of it may keep me from sinning against thee, and may hold me in that state of watchfulness in which I should wish to be found at thy awful appearance."

When he had completed his twenty-second year, he entered the following reflections in his journal—"I hope God has enabled me to feel a small degree of gratitude for adding another year to my life, and one in which I have received so many mercies at his hand. Perhaps my life is near a close, or perhaps other twenty-two years may be added, if so they will pass to sense much more rapidly than the last; and then, O my soul, thy everlasting doom will be sealed. God grant me his grace to quicken my careless sense to more serious diligence, and care for my immortal soul. Surely at the most, to my weak frame, a third of my existence in this world may be completed. Oh, solemn thought! How can my heart be so besotted and tricked by present duties* and enjoyments as to make me forget, that my time of probation must soon for ever end, and I must enter, willing or unwilling, prepared or unprepared, into the world of spirits. It is truly astonishing, that I can pass my moments in so unconcerned a manner. Thy grace alone, O Lord, can incline my thoughtless heart to watchfulness and prayer, that my loins may be girt about, and my lamp burning, that so when the cry of thy coming shall be heard, I may be found ready to enter with thee to the marriage."

The accounts which he received in the course of this year, of the indisposition of his brother affected him much. They had been (as I have already observed) companions from their childhood, and had a tender affection for each other. Upon hearing of his brother's danger, he wrote thus in his journal—"This last week has been a week of affliction to me. On Tuesday I received very unfavourable accounts of my brother J—, so that now it seems scarcely probable I shall ever see him again. Oh, that this news may have an abiding impression. Whether my brother recovers, or whether it should please God that this be his last illness, may I lay to heart the lesson it holds forth to me; that in the present moment I may make the Lord my portion; may I possess an interest in my Redeemer, so that when flesh and heart fail, the Lord Jesus may be the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever."

Having heard of the happy state of his brother's mind, he writes thus in his journal:—"My heart feels knit to him now more than ever; his conduct in this trying hour is so exemplary. He is patient under the hand of God, though it is so severe; and God enables him to place a stedfast trust in his Redeemer. May this lead me to trust in God, who will give strength according to our day, and will certainly with the temptation give an ability to bear it." In this confident expectation he was not disappointed; but experienced the same support and consolation in his last trial as had been vouchsafed to his brother.

His weakness increased about this time, so as to render him unable to walk without crutches. Upon this circumstance he makes the following reflections:—"This day I have been worse, and though it was Sunday I could not attend any place of worship. In the morning and former part of the afternoon, I felt excessively low, from the idea (perhaps chiefly) that this lameness might long continue, and be a serious impediment to me all my life. I was, however, mercifully much comforted by reading some of our church prayers, &c. They seemed peculiarly sweet to me. May I learn, O Lord, to *set my affections on things above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God*. May Christ be *my* comfort, *my* hope, and all *my* trust. On what can my affections be more rationally founded? He is the source of consolation to the poor sinner. May I cordially commit all my concerns to his direction; for *he that spared not his own Son, but freely delivered him up for us all* (for *me* also,) *how shall he not with him freely give us all things?*

He experienced in his affliction the greatest kindness from his friends in the university, both on account of his own weakness, and the loss which he sustained at this time of a beloved brother. He takes notice of these acts of kindness, in his journal, with strong expressions of gratitude.

In some reflections upon his afflictions, written a short time before he left the university, I find the following remarks:—"If I am not a child of God, I have no reason to complain of my afflictions being too great a punishment for my sins; and if I am, is there not cause for the greatest thankfulness that God will take thought for my concerns? Oh the wonderful condescension of God, that he vouchsafes to order any of the events of our life. By thy grace, O Lord, this view softens my hard heart, and I would cry out, '*My* Lord and *my* God.' In such moments I can say, *Thy will be done*, and would not wish to be well. I would not boast. How rarely can I thus exercise myself. It is thy gift, O blessed spirit."

Having mentioned in his journal the prizes which had been adjudged to him in the college, he subjoins the following reflections:—

* Meaning those secular employments, to which he was in duty bound to attend.

"Let not these things puff up my foolish heart, O Lord; but may I learn from them an useful lesson; that although the talents thou hast given me be not great, and my infirmities hinder me from any great exertions, yet from this experience I may hope, that by thy blessing on my future studies, I may so improve myself as to be an useful member in the place thou has appointed for me, and may, in some measure, glorify thy name. And oh, if it be thy will, strengthen my weak frame in thy due time, that I may come forth in thy name to invite and persuade many poor sinners to turn from the error of their ways, and shew them the knowledge of the adorable Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen."

When reflecting upon his afflictions and the effect produced upon his mind by them, he makes humiliating confessions too numerous to be inserted here. I shall give the following as a specimen, written about ten months before his death.

"It is God's good pleasure that I should be still afflicted with much weakness. What shall I say of my submission? What of the improvement I have made under these afflictions? I find myself to have been more deficient than I thought I was, when in a state of health. My religion has been too much of a form. When the trial has come to prove the sincerity of my ways, they have been found weak and faithless. I think this is the greatest benefit I have received; a little greater knowledge of my own corruption, and of the deceitfulness and desperate wickedness of my heart before the great and eternal God. O Lord, let me not deceive myself in this, through vanity and ignorance. I would examine my heart now, and call my sins to remembrance, for thou hast visited me. Yet before thee I must confess, that the calls thou hast made to me, and the opportunities now offered to me of weaning my heart from the world and fixing it upon thee, who oughtest alone to be the desire and hope of my soul, have been disregarded and slighted to my shame. Where I might have improved, I have neglected it; and sometimes I have even inwardly murmured at what I should rather have thought a token of thy favour and love: and when thou hast granted me a peaceful acquiescence, I have spoiled it by my pride, and have grieved thee, Holy Spirit, to leave me again to my own natural darkness, and to the wicked suggestions of my own heart. Though I am so hard and perverse, O Lord, still forbear with me. Thou didst not withhold thine only Son from us; oh, that with him thou wouldst grant me, through the Holy Spirit, a thorough change of heart."

His general state of mind was placid and cheerful; and he looked upon his afflictions as mercies sent from God. The following extract points out his reflections upon an increase of his complaints:—"My weakness continues. I was better last week, and my hopes revived. They are now again taken away, in mercy, no doubt. Job saw the end of the Lord, that he is pitiful and of great mercy; therefore, O my soul, be not cast down, for *thou* also shalt see in the end the goodness of the Lord. This weakness and misery of my body shall be health and blessing to my soul. *Hope thou in God, for* THOU *shalt still praise him, who is the help of thy countenance, and thy God.*"

The conclusion of his journal was written about a month before his death, and manifests the state of his mind in the view of a speedy dissolution:—"*The Lord is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works.* I would add, therefore, (and I hope heartily) *thy will be done.* It has pleased God to afflict me with a disorder unto death, which was a great surprise as well as shock to me:* but why should it? Have I not had a long warning? But cease there—Into what a new and awful situation am I now brought! In a few weeks I shall be in *eternity*—O what a word! and coming upon a great sinner! I thank God for his unspeakable gift. Through him I have hope; and though the waters often go over my head, my God shews me the hope of the Gospel. I will trust in the Lord Jehovah to the end, and not be afraid, for he is my salvation; and here I would acknowledge the mercy shewn to my body thus far. I have been confined three months, and have had but little pain: the symptoms of the disease have been mild, and I have received the greatest affection and care from my friends. I would and do pray for them, that they and I may through the same grace arrive in the same glory; and now, O Lord, what remains for me during the short remnant of my life! I know not—thou knowest. I must necessarily suffer more; but be it unto me according to thy word; only grant me thy gracious presence, and the sense of thy love in Christ, and I ask no more. I now commend my soul and body unto thee, for thou hast redeemed them, O Lord God of truth. Amen."

As a postscript to this he added, with an asterism to the words, *I ask no more.* "Should I not have added, that I may glorify that good, and holy, and gracious God and Saviour, whose I am, and whom I would serve? Lord shew me how I may glorify thee now!"

When the cough and spitting of blood had confined him to the house, he thought it his duty to abstain from every thing that might aggravate his disorder, and therefore sat much in silence. When he addressed himself to us it was generally in a whisper, or by writing down his thoughts. He was very desirous of examining carefully into the state of his soul, and lamented to me, that he found himself incapable of pursuing a course of self-examination, as he wished thoroughly to try the foundation of his hopes. He said

* The complaint of which he died was one to which he had had no previous apparent tendency, having never been subject to a cough, or other disorder of the lungs.

he was the more desirous of doing this, as he felt much the corruption of his own heart, and saw with grief the defects of his obedience to God. As I was convinced of his utter inability to pursue any close train of thinking, and was satisfied of the sincerity of his faith and obedience, I ventured to give him the following advice. After reminding him that he was now called to passive, rather than to active obedience, I requested him, instead of labouring to draw comfort from a close examination of his own heart, of which he was now incapable, to cast himself as a lost sinner at the feet of Christ, trusting only to his precious death, his merits, and intercession. Some time after this conversation, he informed me, that he had found great help and comfort from pursuing the method which I had recommended to him.

He did not, however, lose sight of that command so plainly given in the Word of God—*Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your ownselves.* 2 Cor. xiii. 5. but took the opportunity, as his enfeebled powers would permit, of doing that by degrees which he could not do at once. He told me one day, at an advanced period of his disease, that he was thankful to God for protracting his affliction, and thereby giving him the opportunity of making that examination "by little and little," (as he expressed himself,) which his debility had rendered him incapable of doing at once.

The mental debility under which he laboured was great beyond any thing that I ever saw or heard of, in a person whose judgment was perfectly clear and correct. I have often been obliged to stop short, when conversing with him on subjects that required pretty close attention, as the application of mind would suddenly bring the headach; and what is more remarkable, would evidently increase his general bodily weakness.

Though he delighted to join with us in our family worship, which was never continued to any great length, yet he acknowledged to me that he could seldom keep up his attention to the conclusion, but was obliged to stay the exercise of his thoughts as soon as that exercise began to bring on his headach. This cessation of thought he found himself capable of, and was often obliged to have recourse to it.

As soon as the symptoms of a confirmed consumption appeared, I made him acquainted with his danger; and it was very apparent, that from that time he enjoyed more uniform composure of mind, and often a good degree of cheerfulness. Many of his observations, respecting his apparel and food, shewed with what serenity he looked forwards to his approaching dissolution.

He often wished us to relate to him any anecdotes respecting the dying conduct of his two brothers and sister who had gone before; and took great delight in hearing of the patience and pious behaviour of a young man, his cousin, who had died in triumph after a long series of complicated sufferings.

To his youngest brother, who was at some distance from home pursuing his studies for the ministry, he wrote, "How we drop off! four a little more than a year ago, now we are three, and I may add; soon will be two. God give us grace to improve."

When this brother came home to see him, he addressed himself to him thus: "Don't let your thoughts of me interrupt your studies. I trust that by the unmerited mercy of God, and through the atonement of Christ, it shall be well with me. Indeed, I have been a great sinner, more than you know of, but Christ died for sinners. Of what consequence is it whether you ever see me again? I hope we are both doing the will of God: in that way we shall have a blessing: and I trust, both you and I, and the remainder of our family, shall join with those who are gone before, and be for ever with the Lord. Oh, S——, that will be happiness worth striving for and worth dying for."

During the whole course of his illness he manifested a strong affection to his parents, his brothers, and sisters, and, indeed, to all his friends who were about him. Having one day mentioned his nearest relations to a young person, his cousin, who was sitting by him, he added, "My father and mother, brothers and sisters, I love them better than ever I did before. I love them so as I cannot express; but I love God better—I MUST LOVE HIM."

At another time, after affectionately kissing his eldest sister, Mrs. D——, who sat by him, "How I love you, and that girl," (looking at his youngest sister, who was in the room) "I feel the separation. I love you better and better; but I have not loved you as I ought, nor equal to your kindness to me." He said something more about the pain of parting with them, and then added, "Though I feel the mortification of parting, I shall have better company; you will allow that." Some conversation then passed concerning his brothers and sister, whom he hoped shortly to meet in glory, which he concluded by saying, "But I think of that the least," (meaning the sight of his friends in heaven) "I shall see God;" (then dwelt awhile on enumerating his attributes), "and Jesus Christ the mediator of the new covenant, I shall see them in all their beauty, I shall be swallowed up in that, I shall want nothing else."

He received the attention and kind offices of his friends about him with great gratitude and humility, and one day expressed his thankfulness in these words: "What a comfort it is to me to see every body doing things for me with pleasure; if they did them reluctantly it would be misery to me, *unworthy as I am.*"

Throughout the whole of his illness the grand source of his consolation was the Word of God. His great debility, which affected both his mental and bodily powers, rendered him incapable of reading or hearing with attention, any considerable portion of scripture at one time; but he frequently read or heard

select portions, on which his mind seemed to feed with delight. The short remarks (too numerous to be recited here) which he made on the passages read to him, shewed that he felt their force, and entered deeply into their spiritual and instructive import. Passages exciting to a strong faith in God through Christ, and to a deep humiliation of soul, were peculiarly pleasing to him.

When his disease was so far advanced that it became necessary to give him food in the night, he frequently requested the person who waited upon him, to read to him some passages of scripture, when he received his refreshment.

His desire of being present at our morning family exercises was so great, that he requested to be brought down stairs in the arms of two servants, till within a few days of his death. Two days before that awful period, I happened to be near his bed in the morning when he was much oppressed with the cough, and rattling in his breathings, and I overheard him saying to himself. "These light afflictions, which are but for a moment, are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed." In the evening he was somewhat relieved, and sent for me to pray with him. Before prayer he spoke to me of the goodness of God to him in many instances, and added, "I have often prayed that God would enable me to glorify him in that way which he saw best; why should I be surprised that he calls me to glorify him in this way? he will work, and who shall let it?" The same evening he called his mother to him, saying, "Come, mother, give me a kiss and your blessing; I value a father's and a mother's blessing."

The day before his departure, the family met to have prayers in his room, which he seemed to enjoy. He made a sign to one of his sisters to draw back the bed curtains, that he might see us all. During this day he underwent much bodily pain, and when apparently much distressed was heard to say, "God's will be done; patience is best." At another time, "The conflict of death will soon be past." His sister, Mrs. D——, hearing him utter this last expression, said to him, "Christ has gone before and will support you;" to which he replied with great earnestness, "I believe he will"

In the evening he received the sacrament at his own request, as he had twice before since his confinement to the house; and, notwithstanding his extreme weakness, repeated some of the prayers along with the minister. He seemed to bear a remembrance of the solemn dedication which he had made of himself to God when he was a school-boy; and at a very late period of his life was heard to repeat in a low, though very pathetic voice, that affecting sentence in the form which he had made use of, "O God, look down with pity on thy languishing dying child."

A short time before he expired, his youngest sister, seeing him suffer much, said to him, "You will soon be released;" to which he replied, "Yes, I trust I shall, by the mercy of God." Not long after this it pleased God to grant him his dismission from the burden of the flesh, when, I trust, he entered into the joy of his Lord. SENEX.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE concluding part of EUSEBIA's character; A CONSTANT READER; A CURATE OF THE SOUTH; and J.; will appear in our next.

C. L.; CLAVIS; VIATOR; G. S. F.; H. T.; A. A.; BRITANNICUS INCORRUPTUS; and A PLAIN ENGLISHWOMAN, will find as early an admission as possible.

E. H.; A TRADESMAN; CROIX; AGRICOLA; VICINUS; A. B.; ADOLESCENTULUS, have come to hand.

☞ will find a Reply to H. T.'s paper in our next number.